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The Republican Party
An Editorial

England's New Education Plan
By Cecil Northcott

Fascist Trends in American Churches
By Harry F. Ward

P. C. Hsu—A Chinese Christian
By J. Stewart Burgess

Church Unity—Possible And Imperative
An Editorial

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In This Issue

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CECIL NORTHCOTT

is home secretary and literary superintendent of the London Missionary Society, the famous English Congregationalist missionary organization which sent Livingstone to Africa. He was educated at Hale's School, Exeter, and Cheshunt College, Cambridge, and did social work for three years in London's east end before entering the Congregational ministry. He was a member of the Cambridge delegation to the League of Nations, editor of the *Granta*, and is the author of several books, his latest being entitled *Change Here for Britain*. He contributes regularly to the *Manchester Guardian* and is chairman of the Edinburgh House Press of London. Mr. Northcott is at present visiting this country at the invitation of the Federal Council of Churches, and is on a speaking tour which will carry him to the Pacific coast.

J. STEWART BURGESS

was for many years a secretary of the Y.M.C.A. in Peking, China, where he worked among students, especially those in Chinese government schools. He is now professor of sociology at Temple University, Philadelphia, Pa.

The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

April 19, 1944

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Contents

Editorial
- Editorial Paragraphs 483
- Church Unity—Possible and Imperative! 486
- The Republican Party 487

Quintus Quiz: Seth Pecksniff, Esq. 489

Contributed Articles
- Fascist Trends in American Churches, by Harry F. Ward 490
- England's New Education Plan, by Cecil Northcott 492
- P. C. Hsu—A Chinese Christian, by J. Stewart Burgess 494

Books
- White and Negro Spirituals, by George Pullen Jackson 497
- Books in Brief 498
- Books Received 498

Correspondence 499

News of the Christian World
- Correspondence from the Carolinas 502
- Correspondence from Argentina 502
- Correspondence from Australia 504
- Correspondence from Eastern Missouri 505
- Correspondence from England 506
- Correspondence from Chicago 508
- Correspondence from New York 508
- Correspondence from India 509

Current Feature Films 511

Calendar of Coming Events

Apr. 18-20. Associated Church Press, Chicago.
Apr. 19-27. Pennsylvania Baptist Young People's Travelcade; Williamsport, Punxsutawney, Erie, Tarentum, McKeesport, Wilkes-Barre, Scranton.
Apr. 21. National Holiness Educational Convention, Indianapolis.
Apr. 22. Indiana Council on Religion in Higher Education, Indianapolis.
Apr. 23. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; Rufus M. Jones, speaker.
Apr. 26. Methodist General Conference, Kansas City, Mo.
Apr. 26-28. Southworth Lectures, Andover Newton Theological School, Newton Centre, Mass.; Albert Peel, speaker.
Apr. 28-30. Bondurant Lectures, University of Illinois, Urbana; Charles Clayton Morrison, speaker.
Apr. 30. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; Cyril Forster Garbett, Archbishop of York, speaker.
May 2. Pennsylvania Council of Churches Annual Convention, Harrisburg.
May 3, 4. Pittsburgh Evangelical and Reformed Synod, Frostburg, Md.
May 3-6. Council of Bishops, Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, Birmingham, Ala.
May 3-6. State Conference of Social Work, Minneapolis, Minn.
May 3-6. General Connectional Board, Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, Birmingham, Ala.
May 3-15. General Conference, African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, Detroit, Mich.
May 4-7. Eastern District Conference, Mennonite Church, Bedminster, Pa.
May 7. Methodist Church College Day.
May 7. Community Church, Boston; John Haynes Holmes, speaker.
May 7. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; Ralph W. Sockman, speaker.
May 7-14. Religious Book Week.
May 8-14. Christian Family Week.
May 10-14. Diamond Jubilee Anniversary, Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, Tyler, Tex.
May 14. Rural Life Sunday.
May 14. Festival of the Christian Home (formerly Mother's Day).
May 14. Community Church, Boston; Stephen S. Wise, speaker.
May 16. Southern Baptist Convention, Atlanta, Ga.
May 16. New York East Annual Methodist Conference, Brooklyn.
May 18. Ascension Day.
May 18-21. Pennsylvania Congregational-Christian Conference, Pittsburgh.
May 20. Schwenkfelder General Spring Conference, Towanencin, Pa.
May 21. Northern Baptist Youth and Camp Sunday.
May 22-25. Annual Church Conference of Social Work, Cleveland, O.
May 22-25. Central Pennsylvania United Lutheran Synod, Harrisburg.
May 22-25. Pittsburgh United Lutheran Synod, Pittsburgh.
May 22-25. Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
May 22-27. National Conference of Social Work, Cleveland, O.
May 23-26. Northern Baptist Convention, Atlantic City.
May 24. General Assembly, United Presbyterian Church, New Concord, O.
May 25. General Assembly, Presbyterian Church in the United States, Montreat, N. C.

(Announcements will be printed in this calendar as received, but must reach the editorial office at least three weeks in advance of the date mentioned.)

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EDITORIAL

ODESSA'S capture, which Russia is celebrating as this issue goes to press, means far more than the reconquest of the second seaport in the Soviet Union or the virtual completion of the task of driving Axis invaders from Russian soil. It means that the stage is now set for what may prove to be one of the most earth-shaking offensives in all military history. With Odessa in Russian hands, it should be possible for the Red navy to control the entire Black sea and thus to supply by water the Red army which is now striking from Bessarabia toward Bucharest and the Ploesti oil fields. If the present amazing rate of the Russian advance continues, the first weeks of summer will find the Red armies poised for three great drives on Hitler's *Festung Europa*. The first will attempt to sweep through the Balkans and to breach the fortress by the side-door of Vienna. The second will try to drive straight across Poland and Silesia and batter in the German eastern front guarding Berlin. And the third will plan to advance down the shores of the Baltic until it breaks into Prussia at the Danzig gate. With Anglo-American planes now operating against German Balkan supply lines, and with the concentration of invasion troops in Britain forcing Hitler to hold some eighty veteran divisions in the west, the Russians will soon be in almost as favorable a position for this final three-pronged drive as if the second front in France had already been established.

Odessa and Beyond

Russia as Liberator And Threatener

WITH Russian armies driving into Rumania, Mr. Molotov chose April 2 to announce that the Soviet Union had neither territorial ambitions in Rumania nor any desire to upset that country's social order. "The Soviet government," he said in the first general interview he has given to the press, "declares it does not pursue the aim of acquiring Rumanian territory or of altering the existing social structure of Rumania." The press generally interpreted this as reassurance to the other Balkan states, as perhaps it was. But it was noticeable that the loudest sighs of relief came from London and Washington. Mr. Churchill even took occasion to tell Parliament how happy the Russian declaration of self-denial made him. Yet surely it is an indication of the tension among them when allies, already pledged to "no territorial aggrandizement," seize on such a statement as that by Mr. Molotov with such evident joy. Of course Russia does not "aim" to alter the existing social structure in Rumania. All she has to do is to overrun the country and the Rumanian peasants will take care of the existing social structure. On the same day Mr. Molotov was assuring the world that Russia is entering the Balkans as a liberator, the Moscow radio dug up charges of a months' old border incident in the obscure corner of Asia where Sinkiang meets Outer Mongolia as a pretext to threaten China. Why? Why bring freedom in Europe and threaten a friendly ally in Asia? Can it be that, with everything going her way in Europe, Russia believes the time has come to begin enlarging her borders in Asia? Last week, Sakhalin. This week, Sinkiang. Next week, ——?

The Hull Speech

IN his Omaha swan-song Wendell Willkie said of the nation's foreign policy that "the people's demand for knowledge is rolling up like a great wave. It is beating against the silence of the state department. It is lapping at the edges of White House complacency." He knew whereof he spoke. Four days later Mr. Hull acknowledged this public impatience by giving a 45-minute radio review of American foreign policy which was not only broadcast through this country but sent by short wave in translation to 26 language groups overseas. With much that the secretary of state said there will be wide national agreement. Perhaps it will be possible for us, at some future time when the pressure on our space is not so great, to review at length the positions announced in this 5,000-word document. At the moment, however, we can only refer to one declaration which seems to us to involve a doctrine of international relations having the gravest moral consequences. We have in mind that portion of

Mr. Hull's speech which dealt with the future of the Atlantic Charter. The secretary of state was under the unhappy necessity of trying to reconcile his own prior declaration of the charter's authority with the annexationist policies of Russia and the recent minimizing speeches of Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden. He tried to resolve his dilemma by announcing a principle of ultimate aims—that no promises in the charter can be allowed to stand in the way of securing the ultimate aims of world security and freedom from aggression sought by the Allies. "The charter certainly does not prevent *any steps,* including those relating to enemy states, necessary to achieve these objectives." In other words, if this nation and its allies make the promises contained in points 1, 2 and 3 of the Atlantic Charter, and later Russia and Great Britain make it clear that their continued cooperation in the war to end aggression and establish security requires that points 1, 2 and 3 be disregarded, then they will be disregarded in the name of those ultimate aims. Here is a doctrine so morally dangerous that it merits extended treatment. Fortunately, the point at issue is so clear that no one should have any difficulty in perceiving it. It is really old Bethmann-Hollweg's "scrap of paper" doctrine, now reduced to formal declaration as constituting a major basis of the foreign policy of the United States!

Japanese Offensive Gains Power

GREAT LOSSES in the central Pacific have not prevented the Japanese from pressing their drive in India. Although heavy censorship prevents the world from learning anything except the barest outline of events, it is evident that the invaders are making substantial progress. They have by-passed Imphal and are heading for the strategic north-south railway which supplies the American and Chinese forces on the Ledo road. As this is written they have reached Kohima, 30 miles within the Indian province of Assam and only about 35 miles from the Bengal-Assam railroad. Timing their drive to come just before the monsoon, the Japanese are attempting to cut off this force upon which the flow of supplies to China depends at a time when it will be extremely difficult to counter-attack. If they succeed, they will set back the date for the relief of China and will jeopardize a considerable proportion of the American forces in India. But this objective, important as it is, is not as vital to the success of Japanese arms as the political purpose behind this campaign. It is being presented both to the Japanese people and to the people of India as a campaign of liberation. Aiding the Japanese is Subhas Chandra Bose, former mayor of Calcutta and once head of the Indian National Congress party. Bose was released from jail before the last flare-up of revolutionary activity which sent all the other Indian leaders to prison. Instead of joining his former associates in further agitation, he disappeared. Soon he was rumored to have gone over to the Axis. When Japan swept the white man out of Asia east of Assam, his voice was heard nightly on the radio from Singapore calling on the people of India to rise and throw off their yoke. Now he is the head of a provisional "Free India" government. Cadres of his "Indian National Army" accompany the Japanese in their invasion. While it is not yet likely that the Japanese invasion of India has penetrated deeply enough really to register with the Indian people, it is not pleasant to think of what might happen if this army won one major victory.

Methodists and the War Issue

IN his article in these pages last week Dr. L. O. Hartman predicted that his denomination's position on war would be one of the issues which would disturb the Methodists at the General Conference opening in Kansas City next week. But Religious News Service, with an anonymity which carefully veils its sources of information, asserts that "some Methodist officials express the opinion that an attempt to modify the anti-war statements of the *Discipline* will not create much opposition at the General Conference." We don't know which prediction is more likely to come true—whether the General Conference will have a stormy time over this portion of the Methodist *Discipline* or whether it will be changed without much of a tussle. But a careful reading of the "Statement on Peace and War" as it now stands impresses us with the fact that the Methodists adopted a position in 1940 which, widely opposed then, is now as widely accepted. The Methodist position, as Dr. Hartman pointed out in his article, is that the church "will not officially endorse, support or participate in war." It insists that the agencies of the church shall "not be used in preparation for war," and forbids the use of church buildings "for the promotion of war." In other words, this is a declaration that the Methodist Church, as such, is not at war. Its members may be soldiers or conscientious objectors. Its ministers and its boards may engage in all the works of mercy and comfort that accompany the conflict. But the Methodist Church, as a branch of the Church of Jesus Christ, is not at war. Hosts of Christians are coming to recognize the soundness of this position. After the war is over we predict that all Christians will do so.

Food for Europe Major Post-Invasion Issue

WHEN the Anglo-American army invades Europe, it will immediately confront the problem of feeding the people of the liberated territories. Experience in Italy reveals that this will be a task far more serious than is commonly realized. William H. Stoneman recently cabled the *Chicago Daily News* that "unless the Allied military authorities far exceed their performance in Italy, there is a serious possibility that the citizens of several countries in occupied Europe may have less to eat following Allied invasion than they recently had under Axis domination." He points out that word of the situation which has existed in Italy since Allied occupation has "gone around Europe and the Germans have made the most of it." What that situation is like was revealed recently when John Daly, C.B.S. correspondent, returned from the Mediterranean. At a dinner tendered him in New York, Mr. Daly said

that "the economic situation under the AMG is bad. The people aren't getting enough to eat; the allotment for a family of five barely feeds three persons; black markets flourish, mainly for the benefit of the Germans who are smuggling captured goods into Allied territory . . . the death rate in Naples is four times that of Rome; there is widespread starvation and malnutrition." In the light of this record, which will certainly not improve in the telling in occupied Europe, preparations for feeding the people of Europe rank alongside the military preparations for the invasion itself. It will be a thankless sacrifice indeed to effect the military occupation of what the Russians call "inhabited places"—and that is about the only description which is likely to fit what we are likely to find—only to find on our hands a starving population whom we are unable to help. We would have been wiser to have started this feeding long ago.

Anzac Pact Presages a Clash of Imperialisms

ARE the component parts of the British empire to spawn each its own program of imperialist expansion? The recent treaty between Australia and New Zealand, which is referred to on page 504, would seem to point in that direction. We regret that we cannot agree with our correspondent from Melbourne, who attributes extravagant territorial claims to the inexperience of Anzac diplomats. An agreement to acquire "expanding concentric rings" of Pacific islands—beginning with those nearest at hand but reaching out to include the Marshalls, the Marianas, the Carolines and the Pelew group—when formulated in a solemn treaty can hardly be dismissed so lightly. This is particularly true when these two dominions compact together to oppose any change in the sovereignty of any Pacific island which does not have their prior approval. This is carrying the power of veto pretty far. Would they insist on having a voice in the decision when Japan is ready to return Formosa to China? Or southern Sakhalin to Russia? Of course it is not impossible that the antipodean dominions intend by this compact to head off the imperialists of other countries, particularly the United States, who also are making claims which blanket the Pacific. But if this is their purpose, they are making a serious mistake. They would be much better advised to advocate the development of an international authority, in which they could take their place with others, which would administer the vast island world in behalf first of its native inhabitants and second of the world community whose lanes of aerial and naval travel suddenly bestow great importance on the remotest atoll of the largest ocean.

British Churchmen Present Program for Europe

ON THE EVE of the expected invasion of the continent of Europe, Anglican and Free Church leaders issued in London a remarkable warning against "breaches of basic human rights or punitive measures against the entire German people" and presented an eight-point program for reconstruction. This program is designed to be put into immediate effect behind the invading armies. It deserves study in its entirety, not only because it summarizes the best thought of British churchmanship but also because it provides a yardstick by which to measure what actually happens. The eight points are:

1. Immediate relief measures on the largest scale to feed starving populations, fight disease, promote health, restore national self-support in the necessities of life.
2. Measures designed not merely to prevent chaos but to restore the rule of law, both national and international, and to reconstitute responsible national authorities able and wishing to uphold it.
3. Common action to restore and revitalize associations and institutions of every kind, local, national and international, in which the cultural and social tradition of Europe is specially embodied. Restoration of churches and religious associations will naturally be uppermost in the minds of Christians in this connection.
4. Explicit and effective recognition by European governments of basic human liberties which are the heritage of European traditions.
5. The framing of far-reaching economic and social policies to secure for the people of Europe full employment and social security and the fullest use of available resources in achieving higher standards of life and well-being.
6. Creation and development of common institutions and agencies in the social and economic as well as the political sphere to give effect to these common purposes and to embody the growing sense of European unity.
7. Maintenance within the framework of whatever system of world security may be devised of a system of European security which will allow the peoples of Europe to develop national life free from the fear of recurring aggression and war.
8. The treatment of Germany presents for Christians a moral issue of exceptional difficulty. It must be such as to remove once and for all the menace of German aggression and secure full atonement for the appalling sufferings inflicted by nazi Germany upon the peoples of Europe. Yet we must not lend ourselves in a mood of vengefulness to breaches of basic human rights or to punitive measures against the entire German people, which will be repudiated as unjust by later generations or will permanently frustrate the hopes of peace and unity in Europe.

The statement ended with a call to Britishers to sacrifice as much for the restoration of Europe as for the defeat of "Europe's common enemy." While we find ourselves in hearty accord with much of this statement, whose realism and breadth of scope are most impressive, we find notably lacking any recognition of the differences that the new status of Russia will make in western Europe. It is also difficult to reconcile what is said in the last paragraph concerning "full atonement" and the repudiation of punitive measures.

Congregationalists Propose a Compact for World Order

PERSONAL ENLISTMENT of every member of the Congregational Christian churches to aid in the development of a just and cooperative world order is the objective of a unique enterprise launched by that denomination. On Sunday, May 21, the text of a World Order Compact will be presented for public signing in all the churches. The signatures, according to Ferdinand Q. Blanchard, moderator of the General Council, will constitute "a pledge . . . to demand and support such plans, and only such plans, as will bring at last a just and

righteous order. We owe this to the future. We owe it in the present to those whose names are written in our church on the service roll." The signed compacts will be presented in a dedication service to the General Council, which meets a month later in Grand Rapids. The wording of the agreement is adapted from the original Mayflower Compact signed in the cabin of that ship in 1620. Its phraseology combines the stately language of a historic covenant with the text of recent resolutions on world order passed by the General Council. As on the Mayflower, the members of the churches will "solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and one another, covenant and combine" themselves together. The Mayflower passengers united in a "Civil Body Politic for our better ordering and preservation." The 1944 signers will unite "to work for a just and cooperative world order." The storm-tossed voyagers to Plymouth Rock agreed to "enact, constitute and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience." Their storm-tossed successors on the seas of international anarchy "pray that our nation shall help to establish an international organization for the better ordering of the independent life of nations, the preservation of peace with justice and the furtherance of the general good of all peoples. Unto this task we commit our wills and our ways."

Church Unity--Possible and Imperative!

UNITY between the churches of non-Roman Christendom is not only possible but it is imperatively necessary. This was the daring thesis Henry Sloane Coffin figuratively nailed to the doors of the church when he preached a sermon a fortnight ago in St. Bartholomew's Protestant Episcopal Church in New York. Such faith on the part of any leader of the church would be notable. Its declaration by Dr. Coffin at this time and in this place makes it an event of first magnitude.

When Dr. Coffin was elected moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America last year, he immediately announced that he would do everything in his power to advance the reunion of the northern and southern Presbyterian branches. This he has done. His address before the two houses of the triennial convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Cleveland was one of the most impressive in recent American church history. Here also he advanced the cause of Christian reunion by bringing the Presbyterian and the Episcopal churches perceptibly nearer to merger. His recent tour of Great Britain and the addresses he has made in this country since his return have strengthened the bonds of understanding between the Christian communities of the two countries.

When, therefore, the moderator of the Presbyterian Church declares that church unity is both a possibility and a necessity, he speaks with authority. He has elevated the importance of the moderatorship of the General Assembly in the eyes of Protestants on two continents by a ministry of reconciliation which has had few parallels in recent times. His words carry not only the resonant authenticity of ecumenical Christianity but also that rarer overtone of irenic experience. Consequently, this St. Bartholomew's sermon deserves attention from the church at large. There will be few in any denomination who will not find that the following paragraph, taken from a stenographic report, "speaks to their condition."

"When one looks squarely as I have tried to do this morning," said Dr. Coffin, "at the big issues before the Christian church—and I have had time for only three: the achievement of fellowship among nations, fellowship in the distribution of spiritual and economic goods, fellowship among races—how irrelevant seem the questions of church government, or forms of worship, or the minor elaborations of doctrine which have divided their members into many communions! In the perspective of the colossal tasks immediately facing us, tasks for which our common Christian heritage plainly unites us, it would seem possible, with variety in forms and methods, to arrive at a unified organization of almost all non-Roman Christendom which would enable us to bear a united witness and to exert a solid impact upon the world. Not only does it seem possible, but to those who know at first hand how hampering, how wasteful, how ineffective for the real job our inherited divisions prove, how meaningless and repellent they appear to outsiders and to that large mass of indifferent, nominal Christians whom the church must recapture, it seems imperative."

Dr. Coffin is no lone figure crying in the wilderness. He stands within the church as the elected leader of a great denomination. His career has been divided between the pastorate of a leading metropolitan pulpit and the training of young men for the Christian ministry. Neither at Union Theological Seminary nor at the Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church in New York did he seek public attention as a critic of Protestantism. When he now declares that the inherited divisions of the church hamper it until these divisions become meaningless and repellent to those who must be enlisted in the church's service, his words cannot be dismissed as the rhetoric of an irresponsible phrase-maker. In them a churchman proclaims his faith that the church can and must lay aside its traditional inhibitions and shoulder the corporate responsibilities "for which our common Christian heritage plainly unites us." As Dr. Coffin speaks it is clear that one who knows the church has counted the cost and honestly faced the difficulties of such a course of action and that he has faith that the church can, with God's grace, pay every element of the cost and surmount all the difficulties which lie in the path.

But will it do so? The church has not always been aware of the moments when its divine destiny called. It has often proved to be tragically blind and deaf until the decisive moment was past and the great decision forever impossible. What is to prevent this from happening now? Dr. Coffin names two factors. "Here and there leaders

are trying to end the divisions of past centuries. What is wanted is an intelligent, insistent, clamant *lay* backing. Otherwise traditionalism and inertia will block every effort. The divisions will be handed on to our children and we shall have missed our God-given chance to repair the breaches and transmit a church worthier of and more serviceable to her Lord."

Too often the leaders who "here and there" are trying to reconcile Christians work alone, ignorant of the number of allies they have in other denominations until their own day of opportunity is almost ended. It is understandable that appointments to the important commissions created by the churches to promote specific projects of union should go only to the most trusted and capable leadership. But if the movement toward church unity is ever to assume the proportions which it must assume if the church is not to appear gravely deficient in its hour of opportunity, some way must be found of discovering this leadership sooner and of keeping it at work longer. Few men now develop more than the beginnings of this all-important ministry of reconciliation before the infirmities of age or the shift of committee memberships bring their efforts to a premature conclusion. With rare exceptions, they receive such appointments after they have passed the prime of life. Their work for Christian union comes as a sort of aftermath in their careers.

Since church unity is both possible and imperatively necessary, the time has come when the church must find a way for its ablest and most devoted minds to concentrate on the ministry of reconciliation. What a significant service the Presbyterian Church might render to Protestantism if it were to bestow on Dr. Coffin some sort of lifetime appointment as a special denominational missioner of Christian union which would enable him to bring to conclusion the movements toward unity which he has furthered! But he could not do his work alone. Other denominations would also have to commission and give broad powers to their own envoys of reunion. Some of those denominational commissioners—we would hope a large majority of them—should be selected from the ranks of younger, rising leaders. Such men, working together with a veteran church statesman like Dr. Coffin, would face as their high mission nothing less than the reconstruction of non-Roman Christendom. But to do this would require not only the development of a common strategy of action but also the rediscovery and proclamation of Christian unity as the most basic Christian doctrine.

The "intelligent, insistent, clamant lay backing" for which Dr. Coffin asks is not likely to spring, Minerva-like, full-panoplied from the head of Jove. Most Protestant bodies make laymen hewers of wood and drawers of water, binding them permanently to the money-raising services of clerically dominated church boards. Preaching stripped of theological content and reduced to moralistic homilies has undermined the layman's sturdy insistence on the priesthood of all believers, and his spiritual illiteracy has rendered him impotent. Power for the drive for reunion, as Dr. Coffin sees, must come from laymen, but before it can be expected to appear laymen must enlist, train and indoctrinate themselves for the job. (This need not necessarily take decades to accomplish, as the remarkable war training programs show.) It is here that the federations of churches have their great opportunity. To realize it, however, they must move out from their present obsession with nothing more than methods of Protestant cooperation and venture to restudy the meaning of the Protestant faith.

In proclaiming at St. Bartholomew's his faith in the possibility and the necessity of church unity, Dr. Coffin provided the universal orientation which the proposed Presbyterian-Episcopal merger requires. But others than the members of these churches will also be required to answer the question with which he closed: "In our day can the church witness for fellowship on the world scene where the nations lie in pieces, or where antagonistic groups bedevil industry and business, or where racial animosities divide the family of God in bitterness and suspicion, unless she demonstrate, and demonstrate dramatically so as to catch public imagination, the power of her crucified and risen Lord to bind in one those who trust him?"

The Republican Party

WENDELL WILLKIE'S withdrawal after his overwhelming defeat in the Wisconsin presidential primary raises in the mind of every American the question: What is the Republican party to be in the campaign of 1944? Mr. Willkie had become the principal spokesman for a strong policy of international collaboration on the part of the Republicans. Never had he, or any other Republican leader, expounded that position more vigorously or with greater grasp of its requirements than in the speeches which immediately preceded his repudiation by the Wisconsin voters. Does the fact that in this primary he ran fourth in a four-man race—and against three other candidates who ostensibly were not running—mean that his party is about to turn into the path of narrow nationalism? Does it presage a Republican return to 1920? Some say so. Others fear so. Yet the unexpected strength disclosed by former Governor Stassen in the same primary argues against any such too-facile interpretation.

The temptation will be great for Republican party leaders, in preparing for the coming campaign, to follow a negative course. Since Willkie, the man with a positive approach to national problems, ran last in the Wisconsin test and Dewey, the man who has preserved a sphinx-like silence, ran far in the lead, the typical party manager may naturally be expected to favor a policy of evasion on controversial issues. If the art of harvesting votes depends on alienating as few supporters as possible, such advisers will argue, victory at the polls is likely to go to the party with the fewest commitments. Let the Republican aspirants lie low, say nothing (or as nearly nothing as the exigencies of the campaign will allow), and try to win by providing a catch-all for all the kinds of disgruntlement which are to be found in the electorate.

Republican party leaders who argue in this fashion can find support in the fact that there are so many kinds of disgruntlement against the incumbent administration.

There is, for instance, the still pervasive hatred with which Big Business regards the President. To that there must now be added the resentment of a large proportion of the country's small business men. The farmers seem to be off the Roosevelt reservation. There are obvious rifts in the Negro ranks, hitherto almost solidly behind the President. (The Negro vote has become a matter of great importance in a half-dozen northern states.) Several foreign language groups are rumored to be resentful at the failure of Mr. Roosevelt to intervene more decisively against Russian annexations in eastern Europe. And there are even rumors that a few southern states may repeat the marvel of 1928.

Nor does this exhaust the list of the disaffected. Mr. Roosevelt must also reckon with the deep resentment of those who remember his "again and again and again" speeches of the last campaign, but who now believe that while he thus talked a stay-out-of-war policy he was all the time pursuing a get-into-war program. He must know that there are certain Protestants deeply disquieted at his course with regard to the Vatican, and others who have not forgiven him the part he played in bringing back the legalized liquor traffic and later ignoring his pledges against any restoration of the saloon. And then there are all the various kinds of "antis" who have it in for the present occupant of the White House—the anti-Russians and the anti-British and the anti-high taxes and the anti-corrupt local machines and probably more species of dissidence which do not occur to mind at the moment. And topping all is the sense which many Americans have of the enormous danger to the American form of government implicit in the fourth term.

To be sure, all these sources of opposition to President Roosevelt's re-election overlap somewhat. A single voter might be classified as a member of a number of these dissatisfied groups. Taken together, however, they account for a formidable number of votes. And although it should be obvious that no Republican candidate could, if elected, satisfy the wishes of all these groups—how could he, for example, at one and the same time give Big Business the green light to rush ahead to its desired monopolistic Eden while restoring to Little Business the place in the national economy which it began to lose long before the New Deal was ever heard of?—there will be many party leaders whose counsel will be to garner the votes first and let the ensuing disillusionment take care of itself. To such leaders the perfect policy for the Republican party in the coming election, and the perfect position for the Republican candidate, will be a distorted version of St. Paul's words about being "all things to all men, that I might by all means save some" votes.

Patriotic Americans, however, believe that the Republican party owes the nation something better than such expediency this year. The very fact that its prospects for victory at the polls next November are so bright lays upon it an obligation which no strategy of evading issues can discharge. Republican aspirants, Republican party managers, even the rank-and-file Republican party membership cannot close their eyes to the fact that this is a time of genuine national crisis. The nation is engaged in a world war. It must not only win that war, but if it is within the possibility of human contriving it must win a lasting peace. The war crisis has already become subordinate to the peace crisis. If the Republican party is to measure up to the obligations of patriotism and statesmanship in this hour it must give the nation proof that it is capable of dealing with the inescapable problems of victory.

It was this that Mr. Willkie was trying to do at the moment when his own leadership suffered the disaster of the Wisconsin primary. His speeches had held in view two major aims: first, to show that President Roosevelt and his administration have nothing wherewith to approach the demands of military triumph but a policy of expediency, shifting from day to day as the winds of world politics blow; and second, to show that an informed, liberal, workable Republican alternative is available. At Omaha, on the night he withdrew from the race, in words that should have seared their way into the consciousness of every American, Mr. Willkie documented his charges that the present administration has created confusion among our allies as to America's world intentions and confusion among the American people as to its international commitments. Along with his deserved criticisms of the party now in power he set before his hearers the picture of an American contribution to world order and security which would repudiate imperialism, open the doors of opportunity for the exploited and oppressed in all lands, engage in a permanent process of international collaboration and at the same time revive American democratic ideals and processes.

The fact which must shock the thoughtful American now is that the Republicans, no longer having the straight-talking Willkie to give a sense of reality to their campaign, are left without any candidates whose words reveal an adequate comprehension of the demands of the national crisis. In this hour when America cries aloud for a great leadership, other Republican aspirants have been either entirely silent or content to whisper party slogans learned by rote when they should be proclaiming proposals for national action produced by insight. What this nation desperately needs is a presidential leader able to command the people's imagination and their conscience. If the Republicans have such a leader to offer, then it is high time they were bringing him forth. If they can produce such a leader, then if they win in November much is possible from America's discharge of its responsibility to world order after the war. If they have no such leadership to offer, then they have little else to offer either to the nation or to mankind.

Confused as the nation is by the expediencies to which Mr. Roosevelt has increasingly resorted as the war crisis has deepened, the question it should ask now of the Republican party is simply this: Can the Republican party restore to the United States a sense of direction toward that high destiny which hitherto all Americans have believed the future held in store? It is this sense of direction which is needed in our relations with our allies, both now and for the postwar years. It is needed in wrestling with the issues involved in establishing the "general international organization" to which we are pledged. It is needed in confronting the domestic problems of industrial recon-

version which victory will bring, and for which the administration has nothing better to offer than a Jesse Jones-William L. Clayton scheme to disperse government-built and owned factories to great corporations. It is needed to re-establish a constitutional system of government, as contrasted with the type of personal government by executive directives which has grown up during the war years. It is needed to secure the program of planning for full postwar employment in whose making both business and labor should share on an equality with governmental bureaus.

The sense of direction toward these ends—this is what the nation has a right to expect now from the Republican party. This, and a candidate of integrity and moral stature and vision. For without such a candidate this sense of direction cannot be achieved. But if the Republicans have such a candidate, where is he?

The choice before the Republicans is really a choice between short-view opportunism and long-range patriotism. If the party leadership embraces the former, it is possible that the Republican ticket can carry the election, but on a basis sure later to fill the nation with recrimination and the anger of those who believe they have been betrayed. But on the other hand the party can fight the election in such a way as to do the nation—and its world relations—lasting good, win or lose. These are the hours, when Mr. Willkie's withdrawal has created a new situation for the party, when the Republican party must make a great choice. Are Republicans, in this year of national crisis, to be men with a grievance or men with a vision of national greatness? Is their presidential candidate to be a national leader in the great tradition or a political opportunist adroit only at the tricks of catching votes?

Seth Pecksniff, Esq.

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Some recognition is due to Pecksniff. A hundred years ago nobody was called a "Pecksniff," for Charles Dickens was only just releasing him—in monthly parts. It is not proposed that we should take up the chorus sung by the young gentlemen lodging at Mrs. Todgers' boarding-house when Mr. Pecksniff and his daughters stayed there:

> All hail to the vessel of Pecksniff the sire!
> And favoring breezes to fan:
> While Tritons flock round it and proudly admire
> The architect, artist and man.

Their enthusiasm was misdirected, yet they were right in making the climax of their praise "man," for Seth is content to be a man. But what a man! "Perhaps there was never so moral a man, especially in his conversation." His very throat, of which you saw a great deal, seemed to say, "A holy calm pervades me." If he was not moral within, nobody had more of the language of morality on his lips. He was in the part. There are debased Christians, but Seth was a debased Humanist.

Small wonder that when letters were addressed to him in his Wiltshire village he should be called "Esquire." If that had been omitted he would have been wounded in his feelings, but he would have insisted on forgiving you.

Why do we find moralists hard to like, even when they are genuine, and why is the hypocritical moralist a hissing and a reproach to all decent folk? Even when Seth was simply improving occasions with no particular end to serve, though he was amusing enough, he must have been a trial to many. Recall his kind of grace after meat: "I do not know how it may be with others, but it is a great satisfaction to me to know, when regaling on my humble fare, that I am putting in motion the most beautiful machinery with which we have any acquaintance. . . . When I have wound myself up, if I may employ such a term, and know that I am going, I feel that in the lesson afforded by the works within me I am a Benefactor to my kind."

You may probably have never met with Seth Pecksniff, but have you never heard the works of nature improved in ways like this? Children used to be exposed to such moralizings. It was apparently assumed that the processes of nature are all intended to teach something and perhaps to provide such as teach the young with much needed material.

But there is something in the language of Mr. Pecksniff, the Moral Man, which rather surprises the reader. The virtues to which he lays claim are in themselves both admirable and rare. He stands for mercy, charity, sympathy for the sick, gentleness, humility, forgiveness.

"Forgiveness is a high quality; an exalted virtue; far above *your* control or influence. John, I will forgive you." "Forgiveness, entire and pure forgiveness, is not compatible with a wounded heart." All such professions are belied by the Moral Man's actions, but it is striking that as an advertisement for his own ends he should choose these virtues and graces. The advertisement certainly brought him a reputation in the eyes of many of his neighbors. They admired in another, perhaps, that meekness and charity which they would hesitate to claim in themselves. And just for this very reason, when they are convinced that the Moral Man is a hypocrite, they are repelled by him all the more if he assumes such divine virtues.

If Seth had played the part of a Gallant Warrior, or even a Swashbuckler, he would still have been a hypocrite but not so repulsive a one.

Do you agree that it is very hard and not very profitable to teach morality? Seth would have profited by Mahatma Gandhi's favorite admonition—delivered to the wrong address sometimes—that a rosebush does not need to label itself.

Writers of biography should beware of the method of Pecksniff when they are improving the occasion. Have you ever seen things like this: "On one occasion he saw an old man carrying a heavy parcel, and with wonderful condescension he helped him, thereby illustrating his nobility of character . . ."? Anecdotes mostly belong to the realm of fiction and even when they are based on fact I ask you, What do they teach? I should imagine that the saints would not welcome the Pecksniff touch in their biographers exercised for their sake.

Ever yours,

QUINTUS QUIZ.

Fascist Trends in American Churches

By Harry F. Ward

IN THE HEYDAY of his power Mussolini said that fascism is reaction. Specifically it is reaction organized for a definite purpose at a particular point in history. In stable times, when the course of human affairs runs along a fairly level stretch, reaction seeks only to bring back the past and put it in place of the present. Concerning the future its motto is, "After us the deluge." Today, when we have come to a turning point, reaction organizes under the banners of fascism to put the past in control of the future. In place of government by discussion and free suffrage, fascism puts government by decree, ruthlessly enforced. In place of the extension of democratic controls to the economic order and international relations it offers a revival of feudal authority, belligerent nationalism and aggressive imperialism. Upon an industrialized world moving toward equality it would fasten the hierarchical structure of pre-industrial days.

Fascism a World Factor

Like the democratic movement it seeks to end, and the socialistic movement it strives to prevent, the fascist movement is world-wide. In every land where industrialization has begun, in Europe, Asia and the Americas, there is either a party or a coalition of political and economic factions with the same aims, principles and methods as those which have come to power in the Axis nations. The composition of the forces varies according to the amount of feudal survivals, the degree of democracy arrived at, the extent of monopoly capitalism in each nation. The essential uniting characteristic is the effort to prevent workers, peasants and socially minded intellectuals from using what democratic forms they have available to meet their economic needs and realize their cultural and spiritual aspirations.

At the points where the shape of things to come is being fashioned, the people of the Protestant churches should be on the side of more democracy. For ours is a democratic gospel, proclaiming access to God and the abundant life for all on equal terms. Yet in the historic moment when the course of mankind for a period is being determined, the sword of moral division that Jesus brought cleaves the household of faith as it does all secular groupings. In their church life Protestants divide on the basic issues of the hour as they do in their political and economic associations. Fascist trends which are visible in political, labor, farm and professional organizations appear also in the churches. They take a different form in the fundamentalist and modernist sections of Protestantism.

Prewar Fascist Publications

The fundamentalism which dominates the Bible belt, and has much strength elsewhere, was a vital element in the development of the first stage of our native fascism—during the period before Pearl Harbor. The word "Christian" appears often in the title of the fascist publications of that time and the organizations they promoted. Most of them are of Protestant origin. Along with Father Coughlin's *Social Justice,* they provided the major outlet here for the material of the nazi foreign propaganda bureau. They spread anti-Semitism, now a national menace, in areas where it had no incitement of economic competition.

This kind of Protestantism furnished Coughlin with part of his radio audience and much of his *Social Justice* circulation, and still provides some members of his storm trooper Christian Front. The Oklahoma jail sentence of twenty years for owning and selling books that are in circulation all over the country was preceded by a public book-burning in the nazi style arranged by an evangelist. Behind the Detroit race riots was the inciting preaching of two Protestant ministers, repeating with variations the theme song of Coughlin. One of these gave his blessing in his church to certain thugs just before they went out to do their part in the rioting—thugs who had earlier made an attack on union leaders, Jews and Negroes, in which another pastor trying to dissuade them was injured.

This particular tie-up of dynamic religious emotion with fascist propaganda and action is typically American. The mystic emotion of a ceremonial religion is used by the Sinarquists in Mexico to put a halo around a fascist movement and make easier the achievement of the political aims of the reactionary section of the hierarchy. For the same purpose the battle cry "Christo Rex" is raised in Spain. In Japan the Shinto ceremonies are used to mold the masses in the interests of fanatical feudal militarists allied with a powerful financial oligarchy.

Clerical Fascism on the Air

Our emotional fundamentalist Protestantism aids the fascist effort to take power by its preaching on the air. Its arousements are increasing their coverage because such preaching is a good money-maker. The religious appeal is at the I. Q. level set by most radio advertising. It keeps its listeners in bondage to their fears and superstitions. On the air as on the printed page, in pulpits, in storefront and cabin meetings, a large company of Protestant preachers is preparing the mass support without which the fascist forces of reaction cannot take power in a democracy. This type of religion thrives on war and the disasters that follow war. Its vivid emotionalism provides a brief escape from misery for the victims of want and fear, the undernourished, underclothed, ill housed section of our people who are dispossessed of human rights by our economy, neglected by our education, looked down on by most of our comfortable religionists.

These people are the natural seedbed for all the scapegoat hatreds that tear the community asunder and while doing it conceal the larger purposes of the financial supporters of fascist demagogues. Yet these victims of fascist propaganda can become a strong defense against the coming of fascism once they find out who the fascists are. Because their moral emotions are still vigorous, all

they need to know is that their real enemy is not the Negro nor the Jew, but the people who for their own interest set Christian against Jew and white against Negro. When the subversion of their moral emotions by an escapist, apocalyptic religion is stopped by a historical interpretation of Scripture applied to the current scene, when they are given the benefits and social program of a progressive labor organization, they will have no part nor lot in any Christian Front that denies democracy and universal brotherhood.

Support for Democratic Ideals

Except for a right wing whose economic interests and social associations are stronger than their religion, the "modernist" sector of our Protestantism has offered considerable resistance to the cruder aspects of early American fascism. A good part of its leadership and its younger generation understands that the democratic process is the political instrument for the continuous expression of the gospel ideal for human living. So it has provided considerable protest against fascist encroachments upon our constitutional liberties, and against the appeasement of foreign fascists in the interests of big business and the Vatican. It is emphatic in its judgment upon anti-Semitism and the race superiority doctrine which furnishes the fanatical incitement for fascist brutality, here as elsewhere. It condemns the imperialism, both territorial and economic, which leads to the fascist program of world dominion. Yet despite these anti-fascist attitudes, progressive Protestantism has failed to mobilize its strength to stop fascist advance. Except for a small militant left, it stands hesitant and confused by economic interest and ignorance of the facts.

There are several factors in progressive Protestantism which tend to nullify its anti-fascist tendencies. There is the fact that its moral judgments are predominantly intellectual. Its besetting sin is intellectualism, which sterilizes the moral emotions, inhibits militancy and then paralyzes the motor nerves. This danger is increased by the spread of undiscriminating tolerance, inducing the appeasement upon which the fascist temper thrives and through which the fascist forces grow strong. The conflict between democracy and fascism has reached the stage where there is no middle ground. When the nations enter the Valley of Decision the neutral shades, so dear to the liberal, disappear, until it is decided whether black or white is to hold the reins of power.

Class Interests

It is not that all the right is on one side and all the wrong on the other. The conflict is between two methods of social organization based on valuations of human worth and possibility as opposite as daylight and dark. One way of life offers the opportunity to diminish progressively what sufficient experience, over sufficient time and territory, has found to be wrong, the other rejects and destroys the moral standards built up by the long development of human society all over the world.

Another basic factor which causes progressive Protestantism to provide some aid and comfort to fascism seeking power is its class composition. Using the term "class" in the practical sense of income groups having differing economic interests, progressive Protestantism, rural and urban, is predominantly middle class. The part that this section of society played in the rise of nazism is well known. Here it bulks much larger and, caught between organized capital and organized labor in the pressures of a declining economy, it succumbs easily to the seductions of fascist propaganda. Many of the college graduates who sit in cushioned pews did not see through the anti-red smokescreen of the fascists, foreign and home grown, as quickly as did the eighth-graders in union halls or the fourth-graders gathered on the floors of sharecroppers' cabins. If our comfortable church folk are left to follow their inherited political prejudices and the voice of the Big Business press they will go from economic servitude into political bondage. Until a clear anti-fascist political grouping is formed the church is the only agency at hand to provide the knowledge and the moral passion necessary to save these people from the deceitfulness of their immediate self-interest.

The Retreat from Rauschenbusch

The mind of most church members in the progressive sector of Protestantism is still in the economic past. They think and vote in terms of the days when freedom of conscience went hand in hand with freedom of economic opportunity. The struggle for freedom of the mind through which their churches went is not related by them to the present struggle for freedom from fear and want. So they do not recognize the face of approaching fascism behind its mask of free enterprise. How many of them understand that the propaganda machine that coined this phrase is the creation of the most powerful monopolistic interests in the land, who have made free enterprise impossible in the domains they control? How many are aware that there is a basic conflict between capitalism in its monopoly stage and the democracy which in its earlier days it helped to develop? How many know that monopoly enterprise requires fascist controls in order to stop the people from democratically taking economic power into their own hands? Yet without this knowledge they cannot take the political action necessary to prevent American fascism from coming to power. How can they get this knowledge in time unless the ministry leads them to it?

At the beginning of the century American Protestantism was on the way to acquire the understanding and develop the moral passion which would have made it a militant force against our rising fascism. It had leaders who made an ethical analysis of capitalist society which revealed the tendencies leading to its fascist stage. They proclaimed the religious imperative for a revolutionary change in the nature of society, the complement of the regeneration of the individual. But this was too hard a road for denominations with vested interests tied into the existing order to follow. So alternatives appeared.

First came the esthetic cult in the non-liturgical churches. If that cult had expressed the struggle for social change and related it to the eternal it could have been an awakening dynamic for the mass of church members. But it was imitative, not creative. So it pro-

duced no more vitality than the face-lifting of the beauty parlor. Then came the psychological cult diverting religious education from social exploration. It provided amateur psychiatrists, who may be needed, but not the prophetic teachers and preachers who certainly are.

Toward an Imperialist God

Now we have the turn to theology. The cry is that we need theology as the base for social action. Since advance in systematic thinking comes by reflection on new situations, it would be more correct to say that we need social action as the base for theology. That is, we need the experiences of social action inspired and guided by the ethical ideals of our religion to save its theology from being merely the repetition of ideas about God and man's relation to him derived from outmoded experiences of the past.

The prevailing theological cult is trying to revive in new terminology ideas that were formulated under the influence of medieval feudalism. In logic and in history these ideas lead to an imperialist God and an anti-democratic church. A theology whose God looks in one direction while his servants try to go in another can provide no base for democratic progress. Like the feudal survivals in the language of our hymns and prayers, this kind of theology serves as a brake upon the development of Protestantism as a democratic force and so lends aid and comfort to fascist reaction.

The anti-fascist potential of American Protestantism can be developed only by increased participation on the democratic side in the political and economic battles that are now determining the shape of the postwar world. It is in and out of the experiences of the struggle to move human living into a new stage that Protestants may, if they will, develop a theology, a worship, an education based upon, expressing and strengthening a creative relationship with God and their fellows. Thus they may help to fashion the new religious forms that are an essential part of the coming social order.

England's New Education Plan

By Cecil Northcott

WHAT is this new education bill which is stirring up so much controversy in Britain? Ever since the Churchill government suffered its first parliamentary check over an amendment proposed for that bill, I find, numbers of Americans who had hitherto been unaware of its existence or indifferent to its importance are beginning to want to know more about it. Why should John Bull be choosing this, of all times, as the period to revise his educational system? What is his new system trying to accomplish? And why should the churches of England be so concerned about what is proposed? As an Englishman traveling in this country, I gladly respond to the editor's invitation to try to answer some of these questions that I find Americans are asking.

"Upon the education of the people of this country the fate of this country depends." That is the sentence written across the top of the explanatory paper with which the young English minister for education, R. A. Butler, accompanied his education bill. Butler goes on to say that the government's purpose in putting forward these reforms in wartime "is to secure for children a happier childhood and a better start in life; to insure a fuller measure of education and opportunity for young people and to provide means for all of developing the various talents with which they are endowed and so enriching the inheritance of the country whose citizens they are."

This plan, which has been taking up a great deal of parliamentary time in the midst of the war, applies to England and Wales but not to Scotland where, so the Scots maintain, educational affairs are much better ordered! It must also be remembered that it is one of the fruits of the ferment which the war has brought to Britain. The new housing program and the Beveridge plan are other signs of the revolution and renaissance which Britain is passing through. It may seem curious to Americans that from the seeds of war an education plan should grow unless it is realized that the impact of war has shaken British people to ask fundamental questions about life and the foundations upon which it is built. Bombs and blitzes are potent instructors even to the most lethargic and self-contained.

By-Product of the Blitz

In training camps, in chaplains' groups, in air-raid shelters, in blacked-out homes, at fire watchers' posts and in Home Guard companies men and women discuss new ways for a new Britain. Many of those discussions center round new chances and new hopes for the children of the country. The widespread evacuation of children from the big cities in the early days of the war was an eye-opener to half of England about the other half. People asked searching questions about the educational system and about the health system connected with the schools. Why was it that so many children were ignorant, dirty and ill disciplined? Why was it that the millions being poured out for education were not producing better results?

Along with this questioning went the growingly persistent views of education experts that the diversified English education system with its state schools, independent ("public") schools, church schools and private schools of all kinds needed overhauling, and that there were some alarming gaps in educational provision which needed filling. For instance, educators have been pleading for years that the age for leaving the elementary state schools (which is the only education the vast majority of English children receive) should be raised from 14 to at least 15 and if possible 16. In other words,

some new state action in the field of education was clearly called for.

To understand this state action a little knowledge of the history of education in England is necessary. It was not until 1870 that the state began actively to bear responsibility for the establishment of schools or colleges of any kind. All schools, colleges and universities up to then were of private foundation. They included the ancient universities of Oxford and Cambridge and such schools as Eton, Winchester, Harrow and Rugby, the grammar schools—usually day schools—such as Manchester, Birmingham and Bristol, the village schools mainly controlled by the Church of England, the dames' schools and that curious English invention in the world of education which Dickens has immortalized in Dotheboys Hall. This amazingly diversified provision, which had one system for the rich and another for the poor, had one factor in common. The impulse to found schools and colleges came from men and women who believed in the Christian faith as the necessary basis and inspiration of all true educational work, and who were willing to give generously of their resources to strengthen and extend it.

Private Resources Too Limited

But by 1870 it was clear (to quote a pamphlet of the Christian Education Movement) "that private individuals and societies could no longer, even with the help of the state, carry the heavy burden of meeting the educational needs of the nation. As a result of the industrial revolution there had been an immense increase in population; and in spite of all that the churches could do hundreds of thousands of children were growing up with no chance of going to school at all." So the state began to build elementary schools and to assist the churches and voluntary societies in extending their schools.

This has led to the growth in England of two systems of education, one provided by the state and the other by voluntary organizations such as the churches. In 1938 there were 10,363 "provided" elementary schools with 3,100,000 children up to 14 in them, and 10,553 "non-provided" or voluntary schools with 1,400,000 children in them. Of these latter schools about 9,000, containing over 1,000,000 children, have been under the control of the Church of England; 1,260, with 330,000 children, under the control of the Roman Catholic Church; and 119, containing 15,000 children, under the control of the Methodist Church. This "dual system," as it is called, also runs through higher education, although the number of children—470,000 in 1,398 schools, of which 770 are state-provided and 430 on the old voluntary foundation—is much smaller than at the elementary stage. And of course the "dual system" runs through the training colleges for teachers, each section, as it were, providing its own colleges.

If in 1870 the voluntary organizations were unable to tackle the nation's education adequately, how much more so in 1944! More than 90 per cent of the voluntary schools are in old buildings, and of the 750 schools on the board of education's "blacklist" more than 500 belong to the churches. It is beyond the capacity of "local managers" to provide funds for the rebuilding of their schools in a modern fashion or to provide adequate equipment for efficient teaching. So, briefly, Mr. Butler proposes to come to their aid with 50 per cent of the cost of rebuilding. If the voluntary organizations cannot find the other 50 per cent, then the school passes to the control of the state. All the churches, except the Roman Catholic, have in the main recognized the fairness of this offer. It still gives them control of their schools, and the precious "voluntary principle" in English education is maintained.

Religion in Education

Another thing the voluntary schools have stood for is the place of religion in education. There have been violent squabbles in English political history about religion in the schools and the iniquity (according to the Free Churches) of using public money to propagate any particular church doctrine. Wise counsel and consultation by Mr. Butler with the leaders of the churches have prevented that issue from wrecking his present education plan. The churches have seen that the minister is anxious, to use the words of his *Educational Reconstruction*, "that religious education should be given a more defined place in the life and work of the schools, springing from the desire to revive the spiritual and personal values in our society and in our national tradition. The church, the family, the local community and the teacher—all have their part in imparting religious instruction to the young."

This means that each school day is to begin with a "corporate act of worship," and that religious instruction is to be based on an "agreed syllabus" which in many districts of England has been prepared by the Anglican and Free Church authorities. In all this "the old established rights of conscience will remain inviolate and it will be open to the parent to withdraw his child from all or any form of religious worship or instruction." On the whole, the churches have welcomed this recognition by the state of the place of the Christian religion in education. It means that more than 5,000,000 children of school age will receive some systematic instruction, by qualified teachers, in the essentials of the Christian religion, and that, many feel, should be an enormous asset in the future education of the people.

Other New Features

What then are the main features of the new plan apart from those already mentioned?

1. The provision of nursery schools for children under five wherever they are needed. The evacuation experiences of 1939 impressed the British people with the urgent need of greater care for children under five, especially those from poor homes.

2. The raising of the school-leaving age immediately after the war to 15 without exemptions, and to 16 as soon as practicable.

3. The provision of new and improved schools for children up to 11.

4. Secondary or "higher" education for all children over 11. "The keynote of the new system will be that the child is the center of education and that, so far as is humanly possible, all children should receive the type of

education for which they are best adapted." This means that the child likely to have technical abilities or scientific abilities will be as well catered for in England as the child gifted in the humanities now is. There will be three types of higher education schools, "grammar," "modern" and "technical."

5. A system of compulsory part-time education in working hours for young people up to 18.

6. The provision of better facilities for "the liberal education of adults." This will include the establishment of residential colleges for adults somewhat after the lines of the folk high schools of Denmark.

7. An expansion of the youth service which the various voluntary organizations conduct to insure that the nation's youth uses its leisure wisely.

8. A more efficient school health service including the provision of meals and milk for children through the schools.

Local Authorities Must be Watchful

All this vast new program of education and social welfare is mainly to be in the hands of local education authorities, with competent directors of education as their executives. This system, of course, is not new although the units of administration are to be enlarged in size. But the English principle of associating voluntary help in the administration of local affairs is preserved by advisory councils, local education committees and managers of voluntary schools, who will have a great deal of power at the strategic points where it is locally exercised.

These local authorities will have to watch, in the tradition which the English have practiced for centuries, the power of the central government in this critical matter of dealing with children and youth. It will be their business to see that the education minister in Whitehall does not regiment or control in any arbitrary fashion. Under the new plan the minister has "control and direction" of the execution of the national policy by local authorities. Previously he has been in a persuasive and advisory capacity mainly, but the new bill authorizes him "to promote the education of the people of England and Wales," which is a powerful instruction. Only a lively and instructed democracy in the local life of the country can be an effective curb and balance to that.

On the whole, there has been a cordial welcome for the new plan. Many would have wished to see a clean sweep of the "dual system" and to have the state take over all educational provision. But the plan provides for the continuation of the deeply laid "voluntary principle" in education which has done so much for English life and character in the past. Again, many would like to see the independent or so-called "public" schools brought fully into the state system so that there should be no suspicion of "one education for the rich and another for the poor" in England. But the plan recognizes that variety, initiative and enterprise by private groups of people have added enormously to the richness of English education. So the plan hopes the "independent" schools will continue, provided that they are efficient, and can show themselves to be so after inspection. And, as anyone can see, this great plan to educate a nation's people in the modern world depends finally on a new generation of devoted and dedicated teachers. Upon Britain's future teachers lies the great responsibility of working the plan.

P. C. Hsu--A Chinese Christian

By J. Stewart Burgess

A CABLE from China reported: "P. C. Hsu killed in a truck accident between Chungking and Chengtu." Two days later a letter arrived telling with his characteristic zest of his work in the Christian Literature Society and of his plans for establishing an ashram in central China. He was, while writing this letter, in the midst of translating Hocking's *The Meaning of God in Human Experience*. There will be many wherever the news flies to mourn the passing of Dr. Hsu, Christian student leader in both China and the West, whose thinking continues to stand out in the memory of those who heard him at the Madras Conference and other ecumenical gatherings.

The cable brings back a flood of memories of an eager young student who walked the dusty roads of Peking years ago. Our first contact was at the Customs College in Peking following meetings led by John R. Mott. It was in 1912, the first year of the republic. The young men of China were turning eagerly toward the West for inspiration and wisdom to help them play their part in the new China. "P. C." and his roommate were among those who signed cards indicating their desire to join groups for the study of Christianity. Both young men, then in their early twenties, had been warned by their families to have nothing to do with Christianity and the foreign devils. But the tide toward the West was on, and these able young men, like many others, were out for whatever would strengthen the new China.

He Asked Questions

P. C.—I will continue to call him that, for everyone else who knew him did—P. C. was slight in stature, blue-gowned, thin and wiry. Even as a student his use of a foreign language, English, was remarkably precise. He had a way of asking pointed questions and requiring exact answers. He wanted to know where these weekly study classes were to be held and forthwith joined three of them. The government college men had no background of Christian tradition and teaching, took nothing for granted, but were eager to find what there was in this and other Western doctrines that might be of value in building the new China.

Each time P. C. came to our home to discuss religious and social questions he borrowed a book or two, and returned with detailed comments. A writer on comparative religion came in for drastic criticism. "He knows nothing about Confucianism and Buddhism," said P. C.

The next summer he was among a small group of college men, all non-Christian, who attended a ten-day conference at the Temple of the Sleeping Buddha in the Western Hills near Peking. At this meeting P. C., his roommate C. S. Chang, and Y. T. Wu, later a leader in Y.M.C.A. work, really gave the young American, British and Chinese Christian leaders a workout. Their battery of inquiries covered natural science, history, the social sciences, philosophy and theology.

Approach to Conversion

P. C., like most students in Chinese government colleges, had never been inside a Christian church and was entirely ignorant of the ways of what was to him a Western institution. It was therefore surprising to have this young man drop around one day and say deliberately, "I think that I will join the Christian church, but before so doing I have a few questions I would like to have answered." He produced a double sheet covered with writing on all four sides. He had organized the questions under several main headings: "Historical," "Philosophical," "Scientific," "Ethical," "Biblical," "Theological," "Social," and so on. The questions were, to say the least, comprehensive. I recall such as "How do you reconcile the Book of Genesis with the theory of evolution?" "In what sense was Christ divine?" "Why do Christians go to war?" "What grounds are there for belief in immortality?" "Have animals souls?" "Why is the Bible different from other books?" "What reasons have we to believe in the existence of God?" "What is the church for?" "What is the value of prayer?"

Together we wrestled with them for some hours. I had long since learned that only honest thinking and real convictions were desired. P. C. presented these same questions to two other members of the missionary group and thus had a cross section of opinion.

A few weeks later he called again. "I have decided to join the church," he said. "Please tell me just what the church and church services are really for and who is the best educated Chinese preacher in the city. I don't want to listen to the poor Chinese language of any foreign preacher." There was only one well educated Chinese pastor in Peking, but he was outstanding. He was Rev. Cheng Ching-yi, of the London Mission (Congregational) Church, an Oxford man, a clear thinker and an eloquent speaker, later first secretary of the Chinese National Christian Council. I sent Cheng the list of questions which P. C. had put to me. They were never returned. Cheng sent them to the London Missionary Society as a sample of what new young China was asking.

Said Cheng later: "That student called on me. He asks more searching questions than anyone in my church, and many that I can't answer. We've waived the usual six months' probation period and taken him right in. He seems to know what he wants."

Another call from P. C. "That church you recommended is not the kind of group you talked about when you described the church. All you do is sit and listen to sermons. No one has asked me to do anything! I thought this was a group that wanted to make society into what you call the Kingdom of God." A tip to Cheng and P. C. was soon a more active participant, although always a very critical one.

Choosing Christian Work

At graduation Hsu was second in his class; he would have been first but for his many outside activities. Students in the college—and they came from every province in China—had sure positions open to them in the then best organized branch of the Chinese government, the customs service. Theirs was the chance of promotion to positions carrying prestige and high salaries.

Another interview with P. C. starting with the statement, "I've come to talk over my future." "I'm graduating," he went on, "but I don't want to go into the customs service. There are already too many officials in China. We need men to work for the government college students. I want to do that work. Have you a job for me in the student department of the Y.M.C.A.?" It was already evident that P. C. was a potential spiritual and intellectual leader of China's modern students. He was reminded of the low salaries given in work of this kind as compared to the high income and great prestige of official positions, but could not be dissuaded.

"I have thought that over," he replied, "and have made up my mind. I am married. My wife is back in Chekiang province. If I can support my wife and, in five years' time, repay an educational debt, I am content. If you will tell me roughly what I might expect in the way of salary for the next five years and if by living simply I can pay off this debt, I'll go into the student work." He returned the next day with a careful budget that indicated that, by living on a very meager scale, this was possible.

P. C. joined the staff and was soon known to many of the forty thousand college and high school students of Peking as the brilliant young Christian scholar who gave a fresh and vital interpretation of the new religion to which he had so wholeheartedly committed himself. His roommate, Chang Chin-shih, took the same path and later, after study at Hartford Theological Seminary, became the student-pastor for the Congregational church in Peking. His early death deprived the Christian church of a rare spirit and vigorous leader.

A Son of China's Revolution

Years after our first meeting, P. C. told me his family history. His uncle back in Chekiang province, who was a father to him, was a profound scholar. When his ward first left for Peking the uncle called him into his study and said: "My nephew, you come from a long line of scholars. I know that you will succeed in your studies. But there are other important matters to which you should give careful attention. We are living in dangerous times when the best of our nation's heritage is in peril. Remember, therefore, three things. First, do not join the revolution. It is wrong for any true Confucian to join in a movement to overthrow the emperor. Second, do not cut

off your queue. It is a sign of the Chinese race. Finally, do not accept the religion of the foreign devils. Under no condition become a Christian. This religion will undermine all we hold dear." The nephew bowed and said that of course he would do as he was bidden.

Soon after his arrival in Peking the revolution overturned the Manchu dynasty. Students throughout China, in the forefront of this movement, cut off their queues as a sign of liberation and modernization. During the following summer, P. C. visited his old home. In Chekiang also the revolution had swept out the Manchu regime. The old uncle said to P. C.: "My nephew, we are in the midst of strange happenings. You have joined the revolution and cut off your queue; so have I. You are now deeply interested in Christianity. This seems too great a change for me. But everything is being turned upside down. Who knows what I may come to?"

A year or so later P. C. again reported on his uncle and his home town. "I went home for a rest, but I have never worked harder. My old uncle, who used to smoke opium and had no interest in anything but his own concern, is now an active Christian. At night he turns his home into a school for the villagers. He had me lecturing on public health, democracy and Christianity and teaching the people how to read the new simplified Chinese. The whole town is coming into a new life and the old scholar is a transformed person with amazing energy."

In the Building of the Church

P. C.'s first pupil was his wife, early chosen for him according to the old Chinese family system. He saw to it that she was given a good schooling and devoted himself to widening her intellectual horizon and sharing with her his own new and rich experiences. She grew with him. Having no children of their own, they adopted two.

P. C.'s contribution to the building of the Christian movement in China has been a marked one. After a few years of striking success in interpreting Christianity to the students of the capital and organizing activities in mass education and public health carried on by students for the people of the city, he went to America to study philosophy and theology at Columbia and Union. On his return to China he joined the able young theological faculty of Yenching University, Peking, where he taught social ethics and organized the Yenching Christian Fellowship, a significant faculty-student experiment that leavened the life of China's leading campus. He spent some months in Japan as a visiting teacher because he had a conviction that tension between his country and Nippon was growing and that Christians should help to show that they have a bond stronger than the ties of nationalism. During the early thirties, when Japan had set out upon her path of conquest in China, Hsu was a prime mover in a group that organized a retreat for Chinese and Japanese Christian leaders. They met in prayer and humility to discover, as Christians, a common basis of faith and policy.

A strong believer in simplicity, P. C. volunteered to help in the Rural Reconstruction Movement in western China. This movement was sponsored by the church and backed by Madame Chiang Kai-shek. Later he was again a teacher, this time at Shanghai College. As one of China's delegates to the Madras World Christian Conference, he impressed all present as a clear-minded and brilliant leader of Chinese thought. His long conversation with Mahatma Gandhi strengthened his pacifist conviction and deepened his purpose to found in China an ashram similar to such spiritual centers in India. En route to his homeland he traveled for the World Student Christian Federation among the students of Europe and England. He was particularly well received at Oxford. He later lectured widely to student audiences in America.

Later Years

On his return to the Orient he had to choose among a teaching position in an Indian college, a literary post with the Christian Literature Society, and a possible chance to found an ashram in Chengtu. When invasion struck, by good fortune he was able to leave Shanghai in spite of the Japanese occupation and to take up literary work under the Christian Literature Society in Chengtu. He still hoped, however, to found the ashram.

As P. C. mellowed with the years he became less blunt and critical, more tolerant and fun-loving. In his early days, as a Christian student leader, he held himself and his associates to a very rigid standard, not always to the liking of the latter. At a meeting of the Peking Missionary Society he roundly rebuked the Westerners for their extravagance and departure from the simple standard of living that he considered every Christian's calling. He was highly critical of the custom-controlled and conventional religion of many Chinese church members and preachers. As he became one of the recognized intellectual leaders and creative writers of the Christian movement, and as he acquired many contacts with church leaders in Europe, America and Asia, his horizon widened and his sympathy deepened.

On his last visit in our home in America, my 22-year-old son very soon fell under the spell of this leader of youth. He was soon "P. C." to the boy, and long discussions were held on life values and aims in the same fundamental, undogmatic and convincing way that characterized P. C.'s conversations with China's young men.

P. C. Hsu, the Man

Dr. Hsu was a scholar of unusual ability, well versed in ancient Chinese literature and philosophy and a master of Chinese literary style. His doctor's dissertation at Columbia was on the ethical realism of a neo-Confucian sage. He was the able leader of a Peking group who kept abreast of current political and economic thinking in the new China. He knew well the viewpoints and writings of the anti-Christian and communist leaders and was close to the group responsible for China's so-called literary renaissance. He had an unusual gift of dispassionate and critical analysis.

But neither the treasures of ancient literature nor the learning of the scientifically minded West were his central devotion. Discovering for himself the basic concepts and purpose of the Christian gospel, he committed himself wholly to realizing this revolutionary way of life among his own people, especially the youth, and to ex-

ploring the essence of the Christian way. Unhampered by the surplus baggage of outworn creeds and ancient dogmas, he went straight to the central meanings of the Master and like St. Francis found in the common contacts of daily living the field of God's activities.

And now clear-minded, quiet, gentle P. C. has gone from us. He has left his lasting impression on the lives of a goodly number in many lands. One thinks of him as continuing his great quest, reaching out for the answers which earlier friends could not always formulate to his satisfaction. And as one thinks of him, one gains new faith in the future of the Chinese church.

BOOKS

Harp of Zion

WHITE AND NEGRO SPIRITUALS, THEIR LIFE SPAN AND KINSHIP. *By George Pullen Jackson. J. J. Augustin, 125 E. 23rd St., New York, $5.50.*

EVERYBODY knows the "Negro spirituals" and nearly everybody loves them. Some, but not so many, view with respectful interest the religious folk song, or "white spirituals," of a century ago, now surviving chiefly in the southern mountains. But before commenting on Mr. Jackson's very valuable contribution to this department of musicology, I must mention the part of his work which will perhaps make an even more general appeal to the interest of readers of this page, namely, his treatment of the historical religious background of this music.

Although not professionally a church historian (he is a professor of German at Vanderbilt and a top-ranking student of folklore and especially of folk music), he takes with great seriousness the task of picturing the development of religion among the common people in colonial and early federal America. Here he rightly places the emphasis on the fact of dissent as determining the characteristic patterns of religious life in America. He is probably wrong when he follows T. C. Hall's *Religious Background of American Culture* in asserting a connection with Wiclif and the Lollards, but that is of minor importance here. The main point is that the American colonies not only received a large influx of dissenters from the religious establishments of Europe but also produced manifold varieties of dissent even from the dissenting bodies as these became institutionalized and respectable. The dispersion of migrants on the frontier and their consequent cultural isolation favored the process of disintegration. What happened to the Baptists was typical. They were considered the offscourings of the earth in the seventeenth century; but as they became both numerous and respectable, the freedom and individualism that they preached found expression in the proliferation of dissentient groups and regional variations representing an earlier stage of culture than that which had been attained by the main body. This sort of thing went on all over the middle west and south, and in other bodies besides the Baptists.

It may be said, incidentally, that the recognition of this fissiparous tendency may lead to an exaggeration because some of the sects and varieties which appear in the list and give it an impressive length were, in fact, very small. The author becomes, to some slight extent, the victim of this illusion. He mentions, and more than once, the Sandemanians and the "O'Kelly Methodists." It is to his credit that he ever heard of them, for they were too few to be visible without a historical microscope, though both did have an influence that can be traced in later and larger bodies. It may be doubted, too, whether "the country Baptists of those times [the early federal period] were largely of the foot-washing sort."

But the main point is well taken. Religious liberty was in the air. Freedom in religion, and especially freedom from institutional control and stress on the immediacy of the individual's access to God and of God's access to him, bred freedom in song. In this fertile soil, the old English tradition of folk song and the old impulse to it produced a new crop.

Controversy as well as piety found lyrical expression. The Baptists, being most free, were most prolific in song. They sang:

> If you believe in Jesus,
> Then be immersed like him;
> As long as you neglect it
> It is to you a sin.
>
> John was a Baptist preacher
> When he baptized the Lamb;
> Then Jesus was a Baptist
> And thus the Baptists came.

The Methodists countered with:

> In Acts eleventh and sixteenth verse
> This scripture truth you may rehearse.
> So let not this from bigots slip:
> That baptism only means to dip.

And also, with a more comprehensive assurance of general rightness:

> They pray the most, they preach the best,
> They labor most for endless rest;
> I hope my Lord will them increase
> And fill the world with Methodist.
>
> The world, the Devil and Tom Pain
> Have try'd their best, but all's in vain;
> They can't prevail; the reason's this:
> The Lord defends the Methodist. . . .
>
> The D-vil, Calvin and Voltaire
> May hate the Methodists in vain;
> Their doctrine shall be downward hurl'd,
> The Methodist will take the world.

Most of the true folk texts appeared between 1780 and 1830. Secular folk tunes furnished the music. Three important collections were published 1830-44. One of these, Walker's *Southern Harmony* (reproduced in facsimile two or three years ago and reviewed in these pages), first reduced many of these tunes to writing. But the standard notation cannot exactly indicate the subtleties of the vocal rendering as it still persists where these songs are in use. The author's scholarly discussion of this subject—the modal character of the music, its "fluidity" in the use of approximate quarter-tones by singing the third and seventh notes of the scale systematically off-pitch in certain sequences, and the development of patterns of ornamentation not indicated

in the score—will be of great interest and value to musicians.

The relation of Negro spirituals to this body of white song is made the subject of a thorough study of which only the net result can be reported. It is, in a word, that the Negro spirituals owe little to native African heritage or influence, and that they grew up along with white religious folk song, in the same atmosphere, expressing many of the same ideas, taking essentially the same form. A unique and invaluable feature of this book is the section giving, on facing pages, 116 white and 116 analogous Negro spirituals, words and music, with notes on their sources.

The impression must not be left that the words sung to this indigenous music were generally of the type illustrated by the above quotations. These are mere oddities. There were, to be sure, many such. But beneath and above these there is a strong current of sincere and simple faith, crudely worded perhaps but even more genuine because spontaneously uttered in the words and tones most congenial to the worshipers.

W. E. Garrison.

Books in Brief

Say I to Myself. *By Phillips Endecott Osgood. Harvard University Press, $1.75.*

Every man can, and on occasion must, engage in a colloquy with himself, and even give himself stern warning or sharp reproof. It is not that his conscience speaks to him, as though it were an independent authority. His self, considered as his continuing and commanding personality with deeply based motives and far-reaching purposes, speaks to his self considered as active in particular situations and choosing between competing courses. These are what Dr. Osgood means by the "I" and "myself" of his title. The idea is not new. The writers of the Psalms and Proverbs knew it. Oliver Wendell Holmes made it explicit on the lips of the Autocrat. It is in Mead's doctrine of the self, with many elaborations. Readers of this paper are familiar with Arthur Rhinow's use of the concept of the two selves as a technique for meditation. Perhaps the lowbrow vernacular version, "Sez I to meself, sez I, I sez," the use of which is confined to persons not addicted to reflective thought in its subtler phases, is only a way of saying, "It occurred to me," but the phrase seems to have set the pattern for the title. The author does not make as much use of the concept as one might have expected, and it can scarcely be said that he widens the boundaries of knowledge. But he gives much salutary moral counsel, urbanely phrased, in a series of graceful essays on the conduct of life rounded out by a chapter on religion. Dr. Osgood is rector of Emmanuel Episcopal Church, Boston, once famous as the home of the spiritual healing movement which bore its name, and is president of the house of clerical and lay deputies in the Episcopal Convention.

Frederick Bohn Fisher, World Citizen. *By Welthy Honsinger Fisher. The Macmillan Company, $2.50.*

Bishop Fisher (1882-1938) had other claims to distinction than that of being the man who, at forty-eight, resigned from the episcopacy of the Methodist Church and voluntarily returned to the pastorate. But the act was characteristic of him. "The Methodist episcopacy has too much power," he wrote, and he was suspicious of ecclesiastical power even when he exercised it himself and fearful of its effect upon those who held it. His life, written by his wife and foreworded by Bishop McConnell, has not a dull page even when considered simply as a human story. It will be the religious biography of the year unless some work of unexpected excellence appears between April and December. Fisher had been a missionary in India and a missionary executive for several years and already had a wide acquaintance with Oriental mission fields before he was made a bishop in 1920 and began his ten years of administration in the Calcutta area. His sympathy with the aspirations of the Indian people made him more popular with them than with British officials or even American mission boards. The eight years following his relinquishment of the episcopal office were spent in pastorates in Ann Arbor and Detroit. Mrs. Fisher herself had been in educational work in China for ten years before their marriage in 1924. Her book is no mere wifely tribute. It is a vivid portrayal of a stalwart personality and of a significant and colorful life, with a frank discussion of some important issues involved in it, notably those of democracy in church administration and of the liberation of the newer native churches from foreign control.

Books Received

School and Church, The American Way. By Conrad Henry Moehlman. Harper, $2.50. (To be reviewed.)

The Humanities after the War. Edited by Norman Foerster. Princeton University Press, $1.50. In different accents—as different, for example, as those of Wendell Willkie, Roscoe Pound and Abraham Flexner, who are among the seven contributors—the authors of these essays assert the fundamental importance of cultivating the humanities, even in the midst of a war for the preservation of humanity. General Hershey and the draft boards please note.

The Fact of God. By Jacob J. Sessler. Revell, $1.50. Large ideas, affirmations and arguments about God in relation to nature, the Bible, Christ, man and the church, broken into short paragraphs and systematically arranged in a "study book for young people and adults."

The Laughter of My Father. By Carlos Bulosan. Harcourt, $2.00. Hilarious tales of a Filipino family in a village in the Philippines. Other Filipinos have said that they ring true, though the details are cleverly fanciful. Some of the stories were first published in the *New Yorker.* The rambling story of a family, told by one of its members, is a literary genre which may derive from *Tristram Shandy* but it has only recently become a popular pattern. Compare Clarence Day's *Life with Father,* Nordhoff and Hall's *No More Gas,* and Sousa's *My Family Right or Wrong.*

Marching Home, Educational and Social Adjustment after the War. By Morse A. Cartwright. Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 25 cents. A large pamphlet containing data expertly prepared and presented. Readable too, because the author sees the people whose welfare is at stake as people, not as statistical units.

Balkan Journal, An Unofficial Observer in Greece. By Laird Archer. W. W. Norton & Co., $3.50. Unofficial perhaps, but far from amateur. Mr. Archer spent twenty-one years in the Balkans and the Near East. Here he records his observations 1934-41 when he was director of the Near East Foundation with headquarters at Athens, working for the rehabilitation of populations even then suffering from the economic effects of the last war and already affected by the beginning of the present one. The Italian and German invasion came as a disastrous climax.

What a Man Can Believe. By James D. Smart. Westminster Press, $2.00. Dr. Smart uses plain language to make the truths of Christianity clear to the layman. Not that the layman's intelligence is not as good as the theologian's, but his vocabulary is different. The author's announced purpose is "simply to let the message of the Scriptures be heard." It cannot have escaped his attention that most systems of theology profess to do that. But, though thoroughly orthodox, he is on his guard against those ideas "which originated not in the Hebrew tradition but in the Greek"

and then "by successfully representing themselves as the original Christian ideas, have managed to pass into the mind of the church." Thus his discussion of the Trinity avoids the use of the term "persons" and arrives at a "threefold reality" which might be (but is not here) called a modal Trinity. The cornerstone of his argument is a strong view of the uniqueness of the revelation contained in the Bible.

Love Letter from an Impossible Land. By William Meredith. Yale University Press, $2.00. Mr. Archibald MacLeish, who writes the foreword, is confident that the volume deserves its place in the "Yale Series of Younger Poets," of which it is number 42. The reader of this note is entitled to know that Mr. MacLeish thinks "it is work of which any young poet might well be proud." This reviewer thinks less well of it, especially the earlier part which has all the flavor of undergraduate poetry (which it is) written imitatively with strict avoidance of old conventional patterns and strict adherence to new ones which are just as conventional. But in the later poems, written when the author had become a navy flier and had seen strange places from a new angle, he comes to life and proves that he is an authentic poet after all, in promise if not in present performance. These poems born out of the war are true, and often eloquent and revealing.

Pamphlets

Comparative Peace Plans. By Theodore Paullin. Pacifist Research Bureau, 1201 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, 25 cents.

Pacifist Diplomacy in Conflict Situations. By Bertram Pickard. Pacifist Research Bureau, 10 cents.

The Third Freedom, Freedom from Want. Edited by Harry W. Laidler. League for Industrial Democracy, 112 E. 19th St., New York, 50 cents.

Jewish Migrations, Past Experiences and Postwar Prospects. By Eugene M. Kulischer. American Jewish Committee, 386 Fourth Ave., New York, 20 cents.

A Nation Rebuilds, The Story of Chinese Industrial Cooperatives. Indusco, Inc., 425 Fourth Ave., New York, 10 cents.

An Open Door to the Bible. Beacon Press, Boston, 25 cents.

Heroes of Good Will, Thirty-five Stories of Valor in Creative Living. By Allan A. Hunter. Fellowship of Reconciliation, 2929 Broadway, New York, 25 cents.

Children of the Church in Wartime. By Mildred Widber. Friendship Press, 25 cents.

Christian Ideals and War Guilt. By Walter Horton and others. Social Action, 289 Fourth Ave., New York, 15 cents.

The Waste Land, Some Commentaries. By Eric Mesterson. Translated by Llewellyn Jones. Argus Book Shop, Chicago.

Understanding Juvenile Delinquency, and *Controlling Juvenile Delinquency.* Children's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor. Supt. of Documents, U. S. Govt. Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 10 cents each.

Echoes from the Quiet Corner. By Patience Strong. E. P. Dutton & Co., 50 cents.

A Philosophy for Education. By Robert MacGowan. Florida Southern College Press, Lakeland, Fla.

Faith for our Generation, A Study Unit on Youth and Religion. By Karl W. Deutsch. Association Press, 35 cents.

Thomas Bray, 1658-1730, Founder of Missionary Enterprise. By John Wolfe Lydekker. Church Historical Society, 4205 Spruce St., Philadelphia, 50 cents.

CORRESPONDENCE

Conditions in Prisons

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I have read and tried to analyze the article published in the March 22 issue of The Christian Century by Roger W. Axford under the title "This Happened to Me in Prison." The article states many truths. It also contains a good many half-truths, and some serious distortions. The statement that prisoners are locked in cells made of steel should not be news to anyone, although I note that you use a heading "Locked in Cells." Nor should the fact that prisoners' mail is censored come as a surprise.

What bothers me most in Mr. Axford's article is the conclusions which he presents without supporting evidence. Take these instances for example: "Most of [the guards] . . . had sadistic tendencies." The reference to the blind man who "it seemed unlikely . . . " had beaten his wife, "for he was as helpless as a child." The reference to the death of a prisoner: "The authorities attributed his death to 'high blood pressure,' but the prisoners know it was the food." The commissary is "a good business—and starving the prisoners makes it doubly profitable."

I hold no brief for the orthodox penal system as administered in the United States, or anywhere. I do know that conditions in the Cook County Jail—as compared to other county jails—are satisfactory. The testimony of informed persons is that the food in the Cook County Jail is good. Persons who know Warden Sain speak highly of him as an earnest, humane and capable administrator. I am informed that the FBI has a scale by which it rates jails, and it ranks the Cook County Jail among the best three county jails in the whole country.

My protest is that The Christian Century should print this article as it is written without an indication that it is based on a 39-hour stay in the jail, a truly terrible experience which was obviously a severe emotional shock to the writer. I cannot see how any constructive good can come from the article. It arouses in the reader condemnatory feelings, or an irritated defense of the Cook County Jail.

The achievement of effective democratic government, in which is included the administration of public institutions, is not a simple or easy task. Most of us have neglected any serious consideration of the problems of democratic government. Mr. Axford gives an untrue picture of the Cook County Jail. An unjust criticism, on the part of responsible people, of any effort toward good government postpones the day when we shall have better government.

Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare, Chicago. JOSEPH L. MOSS, Director.

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: My wife and I thoroughly enjoyed Axford's article, "This Happened to Me in Prison." From what I know about the place, I would say that the author did a good job of describing the Cook County Jail.

Talladega College, Talladega, Ala. ROBERT BURGESS, Librarian.

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Roger W. Axford's article, "This Happened to Me in Prison," was excellent. I am on parole from prison and have spent time in four different county jails. As soon as I started reading Axford's article I told myself, "Why, that could just as well be in this country; I'll have to show this to ——— and tell him it's a good description of a county jail in the U. S." Then my suspicions were confirmed when I read the last paragraph. Though I have never been in Cook County Jail almost all of the things Axford describes were very well described and struck very familiar notes in me. The public would do well to read the article and take seriously the big problem county, city, state and federal jails and prisons pose.

Pleasant Hill, Tenn. JOE ALTER.

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: It occurred to me that readers of Roger Axford's description of conditions in the Cook County Jail might think that the only jail of its kind in the country. I spent five weeks in one

county jail and one week in another, both of them in Oklahoma, which easily equal the Cook County Jail for medieval dungeonry.

C. P. S. Camp 76, DAVID WHITE.
Glendora, Calif.

Bronze Tablet Wanted

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: That "Colorado Refuses to Bar Japanese," as reported in your March 1 issue, is very encouraging. Can't we have a bronze tablet somewhere with ex-soldier Representative Hill's reply to the warning that to oppose the bill discriminating against Japanese-Americans would end his political career: "I am just as willing to die a political death as I am to die in battle to preserve American freedom"?

Chicago. R. A. SABIN.

No Ground for Hope

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Your editorial on "A Simpler World" fails to mention what perhaps is the chief reason why hope for a better world may well be low. It is the spirit of self-righteousness which again dominates the nations winning the war.

The churches at Delaware dared to declare that "all share in responsibility for the present evils. There is none that does not need forgiveness. A mood of genuine penitence is therefore demanded of us, individuals and nations alike." But to what extent is such penitence present among the masses, even within the church? More, to be sure, than in 1914-18. Yet there is a pervasive feeling, reflected in both the secular and the religious press, that we of the United Nations are doing battle for the Lord.

The fact that only four great powers instead of nine will be in a position to determine world policies is a very slender thread on which Christians can hang their optimism. The simplicity of a world organized around four strong nations is of the same cloth out of which dictatorships are fashioned. The number itself constitutes a very grave peril.

Lansdowne, Pa. J. STUART INNERST.

Peace Sentiment Strong

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I believe that "peace now" sentiment is very strong among the common people of this country, especially among fathers, mothers and wives. If an acceptable candidate would come out with a peace plank—without the unfortunate "unconditional surrender" appendix—he would gather around himself 75 per cent of the American voters and carry the Republican party to victory.

Scripture Truth Society, STEFANO L. TESTA.
New York, N. Y.

After the Russian Model?

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: You say rightly that religious freedom is a corollary of general civil liberty, and has a precarious standing if it does not stand as part of that.

If religious liberty in Russia is essential to the best good feeling between Russia and the United States, a treaty providing for liberty of preaching the gospel in Russia would be desirable. But it cannot be doubted that Russia would require that the same treaty should provide liberty for preaching communism in the United States. The United States would have no power to give this, since restrictions on the preaching of communism are in general matters of state legislation with which the federal government cannot interfere.

Similar difficulties have arisen in other matters. In 1890 a mob in New Orleans killed certain Italians. Italy claimed that the Louisiana law was not so administered as to give adequate protection. The United States made an apology and paid a sum of money as indemnity for the deaths, thus acknowledging its responsibility although it had no power to correct the evil. Power and responsibility ought to go together.

Such conditions could be bettered, without altering our Constitution, if Congress would give the states a general permission to make individual treaties with foreign powers, to send and receive the necessary diplomats for such purposes, and to associate themselves with each other in such action. Such a permission could have been useful on other occasions than I have mentioned. Can the public be got to take an interest in the idea?

Ballard Vale, Mass. STEVEN T. BYINGTON.

'What Is Disturbing the Baptists?'

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: In Dr. Hillyer H. Straton's in the main excellent article on "What Is Disturbing the Baptists?" he is greatly in error when he says, "The fundamentalist wing presented a petition 'as guarantee of our cooperation' asking that the Foreign Board require its appointees to sign a creedal statement." I presented the motion for the fundamentalists and it did not have in it a word calling for missionary appointees "to sign a creedal statement." All it asked was that the statement of "the evangelical policy" be clarified so as to make evasion impossible concerning certain doctrines that rested upon "the trustworthiness of the Scriptures."

Minneapolis, Minn. EARLE V. PIERCE.

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: May I as a Northern Baptist express to you my great appreciation of the article by Hillyer H. Straton in this week's issue. It was called for, is fair, covers the ground well, and is most cogent. It should help to settle some of the disturbance that just now so grievously afflicts our denomination.

Philadelphia, Pa. MITCHELL BRONK.

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Hillyer Straton has done an astute piece of writing upon a delicate subject in his article, "What Is Disturbing the Baptists?" which appeared in your March 29 issue. On one point, however, Mr. Straton is in error, and thereby does injustice to two innocent persons. Concerning the Baptist foreign missions controversy, he states that "the precipitating factor" leading to the organization of the new Conservative Baptist Foreign Mission Society "was the appearance of a candidate couple with liberal tendencies." As a matter of fact, the appearance of this candidate couple before the board had nothing whatever to do with the precipitation of the current quarrel.

The real "precipitating factor" was the election on February 15, 1943, of a new Far East secretary to the American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society. This election gave the fundamentalist group the match wherewith to touch off their powder keg, and within ten days after the election, even before the first publicity release concerning the election was authorized, a fundamentalist leader sent a letter widely through the denomination suggesting that a protest against the election be made to the chairman of the board, indicating that if the board failed to rescind its action, mission funds would be withdrawn.

It is strange that anyone apparently close enough to Baptist denominational affairs to qualify as the author of such an important article about Baptists, should reveal such a peculiar ignorance of this particular fact. To represent this particular couple as responsible for precipitating the whole controversy is to shift the responsibility to the shoulders of those who in reality were the first unfortunate victims of the present fundamentalist insurgence.

Baptist Church, JAMES M. WEBB.
Walker, N. Y.

Churchill True to Form

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: What shall be said of the patriotism of a man who threatens to abandon the leadership of his country in its bitterest crisis? What shall be said if his sole excuse for such desertion is

that country's wish to bestow upon women teachers an elementary measure of justice—equal pay for equal work?

This incredible performance recently staged by Prime Minister Churchill shows that statesman running true to form as a determined opponent of democracy and women's rights. When the Liberal party, of which he was then a member, after a long absence from office was campaigning during 1905 and 1906 in the general election, Winston Churchill running for Parliament as an anti-suffragist was defeated in Manchester by the Conservative candidate chiefly through the efforts of the suffragettes led by Christabel Pankhurst. Perhaps the memory of that defeat added to his ridiculous triumph over the teachers' just demands.

Philadelphia, Pa. MARY WINSOR.

Pacifists and 'Peace Now'

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: The editorial in the March 15 issue of The Christian Century on the "political naiveté of American pacifists," dealing with the attitude of a good many pacifist organizations toward a group known as the Peace Now Movement, raises an important question. No thoughtful pacifist will deny that difficult and complicated problems arise when the attempt is made to apply pacifism in the political arena. To be reminded of them is salutary for us. Nevertheless, the editorial requires comment.

To say that pacifists "stand for peace first, last and all the time," is an obvious oversimplification. There is no position, including that of the editors of The Christian Century, which can be set forth in a single phrase like that. To go on to insist that pacifists must therefore "stand for peace" as if this issue could be dealt with in abstraction from all the others in the world and that pacifists must even accept anyone who says he is "for peace" as an ally, is to do much the same sort of thing as to ask a man whether he has stopped beating his grandmother.

The kind of peace I strive for and to which I devote myself is that which can best be described as "just and democratic." The policy I advocate is that the United States should state its objectives in these terms and then offer to all peoples equal participation in the making of such a peace. I believe that this would be the most effective way to drive a wedge between the German and the Japanese people and their present leadership. It would also serve to take the political and spiritual initiative away from Russian totalitarianism which has it at present.

I am not *working for* a so-called "negotiated peace" which would mean an attempt to stabilize the existing power relationships among Russia, Great Britain and the United States on the one hand, and Germany and Japan on the other hand. Such a "peace" would contain within itself the seeds of World War III. If, therefore, hostilities ceased on that basis, it would be necessary to point that out. Even so, I would rejoice that actual wholesale slaughter of human beings had ceased and I believe that in the absence of such slaughter there would be a better chance to undo the evil and achieve a positive solution than is possible while war is being waged. That chance could, however, be utilized only by elements which had not become captive to the fascists and near-fascists and which could accordingly offer a clear-cut alternative to "unconditional surrender" on the one hand, and a "deal with Hitler" on the other hand, an alternative to reactionary economic policies and forces as well as to the administration which constitutes a liberal—or pseudo-liberal—front for the same kind of forces.

I recognize the need of the cooperation of non-pacifists in carrying out such a policy. The basic criticism of the Peace Now Movement, headed by Dr. George W. Hartmann (which I shall designate as "P.N.M." in the remainder of this letter, to distinguish it from the movement to end hostilities through a peace by consultation, in which the pacifist organizations have been actively engaged) is not that it is receiving the support of non-pacifists. It is that it sought for leadership or prominent participation in its work to stop war such elements as Mr. Harrison Spangler, ultra-reactionary chairman of the National Republican Committee, labor-baiting Congressman Clare Hoffman and persons associated with the Patterson-McCormick press interests. I do not believe that these elements are interested in achieving peace even in the sense of a cessation of hostilities. They are much more likely to try to bring the Republican party into power in order to carry on the war more effectively than the present administration. They would stop the war only if reactionary political and economic interests were served and would certainly institute permanent conscription and permanent militarism and imperialism. At the proper time, for them, they would not hesitate to establish a fascist regime. I am convinced that the great majority of pacifists have a closer spiritual kinship to certain supporters of the war than to such extreme isolationist and reactionary elements.

There can be only one of two outcomes to a policy which seeks to give a prominent place to these reactionary interests in the movement to stop the war. One possibility is that such a movement as P.N.M. will remain small and be in effect almost exclusively confined to pacifists. But the opportunity to discredit the movement as isolationist, pro-German, opening the way for infiltration of Bundists, etc., will be given to those who are anxious to undermine and discredit every criticism of the unconditional surrender policy. The other possibility is that the movement will become a mass movement; but in that case it is the isolationist and reactionary elements that will dominate it, take it completely out of the hands of pacifists and use it against all we value.

The leaders of P.N.M. make it clear that if Russia and the Communist party were to change their line again and be for stopping the war in a month from now, they would not under these circumstances look to Earl Browder and the Communist party for effective help to pacifists in stopping the war and combating militarism. No more can we look to reactionary southern Democrats or reactionary Republicans for such a purpose. Non-pacifists who often insist that pacifists ought to be realistic when they deal with political matters surely ought to understand this effort to make some distinction among the groups and forces claiming at any given moment to be interested in "peace."

Fellowship of Reconciliation, A. J. MUSTE,
New York, N. Y. Secretary.

[Editorial comment on Mr. Muste's highly significant letter is reserved for next week's issue.—THE EDITORS.]

Preaching in Wartime

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Your Chicago correspondent in his March 10 letter says there is general agreement among the Chicago pacifist preachers that during wartime there is "little or no place for preaching sermons advocating pacifism." If that is so, why are they not consistent enough to say also that during wartime there is little or no time or place for practicing pacifism?

Jamaica, Vt. A. M. WATTS.

Villard Echoed in England

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I have just been reading the issue of The Christian Century for February 2 which has just arrived and should like, through you, to express my warm thanks to Mr. Villard for his most moving article, "Last Plea for Europe." It expresses one's heartfelt wishes and we can only hope that our government is acting upon some such idea as Mr. Villard suggests of waiting and hoping that other measures will be sufficient. In any case, I do thank him for his plea for more political activity. We seem to use the power of thought so dreadfully little and to think of killing as the only possible weapon, whereas I am sure the ideas and principles in men's minds are in the end far stronger. One feels this very particularly with the Russians whose enthusiasm for their way of life finds its expression in their defense of their country. It is very sad when one's dear country fails to do the things one is so eager for her to do. Let us hope before long that in some unexpected way the world will be looking more cheerful than it is today.

The renewed attacks on London are most grievous but it can hardly be wondered at under the circumstances.

Thorpeness, Suffolk, A. RUTH FRY.
England.

Plan Test Case On Negro Vote

South Carolinians Seek the Franchise After Recent Decision—Churches Consider New Unity Proposal

(Correspondence from the Carolinas)

DAVIDSON, N. C., April 4.—South Carolina Negroes are to bring action in the federal district court to seek the right to vote in the primaries, following the Supreme Court decision in the Texas case. J. M. Hinton, secretary of the Negro citizens' committee, says a fund of more than $3,000 has been raised to prosecute the case. The governor declines to comment. A member of the Democratic party (who refused to be identified) said that the party has always been able to decide who shall vote in the primary, and he believes this control will continue, "if not by party rules then by main strength and awkwardness."

* * *

Plan Merger of Churches

The movement to unite the Presbyterians (U.S.) and the Associate Reformed Presbyterians (membership 21,000) is gaining ground. The situation between the Presbyterians U.S.A. and U.S. has been repeated as between the U.S. and A.R. branches. In each case the larger denomination is more than willing to unite and the smaller one holds off, chiefly for fear of being swallowed, also because of possibly greater conservatism. Leaders of the A.R.P.'s, however, are strongly urging union, calling it "imperative." The chief practical difference between the two bodies is disappearing with the gradual evaporation of convictions about psalm-singing.

* * *

Improve Treatment of Mentally Ill

Conditions at the Morgantown hospital for the insane, thanks to a vigorous crusade by the *Charlotte News,* have slightly improved. The latest legislature virtually doubled the former appropriation, but higher costs of operation and maintenance have about neutralized the effect of the higher income. Citizens who know the facts can have no illusions about the hospital. Medical, nursing and service staffs are sadly inadequate. Such surveys as have been made were carried out by citizens' committees appointed by the governor. No analysis by the American Hospital Association or the American Psychiatric Association has yet been made. Even so, it is estimated that to bring the institution up to normal American standards, $2,000,000 will be required. That is more money than is now in sight.

* * *

Church Aids Attack on Venereal Disease

Ten per cent of all the venereal disease clinics in the United States are in this one state—309 clinics in 87 counties, which are successfully battling these diseases. Thanks to the Zachary Smith Reynolds foundation, the LaFollette-Bulwinkle bill and an awakening public conscience, nearly $750,000 annually is being spent in this cause here. Besides the clinics, there are rapid-treatment centers in Charlotte and Raleigh, and rehabilitation service, especially for the girls involved, is becoming part of the program. The need is especially great among Negroes. In one sample Piedmont county, Selective Service examinations brought out that the incidence of syphilis was ten times as high among Negroes as among whites. In Vance county the Henderson ministerial alliance (Negro) has been cooperating with the federal and state health services in an active fight on these diseases. In every Negro church in the county the ministers are forming health committees for the dissemination of information and materials on preventive health measures.

* * *

Seek Youth for Church Vocations

A "coaching conference" for Negro leaders was recently held at Charlotte under the joint auspices of the Presbyterian home and foreign mission and education boards. The conference was led by John Oliver Nelson, head of the department of life work under the latter board. This department acts for the entire denomination as an enlistment agency for "church vocations" whether at home or abroad. The new name is preferred to "full-time service." Rather than wait passively for young people to declare themselves, the present policy of the Presbyterians is to seek out, through enlistment chairmen in each presbytery, likely young people and to challenge them with the opportunity of Christian service through the church. The enlistment chairmen are gathered together in these coaching conferences at various points. The 450 young people in the church at large who are planning for church vocations are joined in a special fellowship of their own.

* * *

And So Forth

The large First Methodist Church of Charlotte, of which G. Ray Jordan is pastor, was impressively dedicated on March 19 after a week of special services. The half-million dollar mortgage was burned during the service.

Louisburg College (Methodist) will offer next fall a course designed to train religious secretaries and social workers.

The southern convention of the Congregational-Christian Churches will meet May 2-4 in Reidsville, celebrating at that time the 150th anniversary of the Christian branch of the denomination.

Moderator Henry Sloane Coffin was among the leaders of the annual Negro workers' conference of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) held at the end of March in J. C. Smith University, Charlotte. More than 600 workers, from states as far away as Oklahoma, gathered under the auspices of the denomination's national Board of Missions.

KENNETH J. FOREMAN.

Argentine Torn By Inner Strife

Outside Pressure Secondary in Present Revolution—Evangelicals Resist Catholic Control of Schools

(Correspondence from Argentina)

INDIANAPOLIS, April 5.—On the day we left Buenos Aires two months ago the Ramirez government announced its decision to break with the Axis powers. The subsequent political changes have been frequent and colorful. The present government is not likely to survive the immediate political crisis. As yet the *de facto* government has offered no solution to the basic issues in the economic and social life of the country. These issues evolve from an internal change which Argentina has been undergoing for more than a decade. The unrest is not fundamentally due to outside influences, however important they may be.

* * *

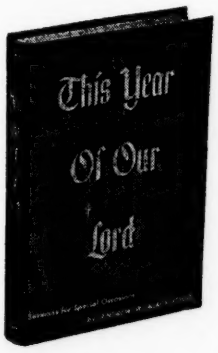
Free Elections are Not Permitted

The conflict arises between a conservative government in power and a majority popular party which has not been granted a share in the government nor a just election at the polls. Until two decades ago all governments were conservative and the elections were controlled. The Conservative party, representing the landholding class, stood for free trade, cheap money and easy credit and was against tariff barriers and industrialization. For this party the nation's position as a producer of foodstuffs and raw materials and a consumer of manufactured products was the ideal. On the other hand, the progressive or Radical party is a middle-class and urban party. It represents liberal thought, the merchant class and the small tradesmen. The latter two live not by exporting meat and cereals but by manufacturing and by importing goods from abroad. They therefore favored a protective tariff and opposed the depreciation of the peso. This party came into being as a protest against the aristocratic conservative government. As early as 1916 it had a majority among the Argentine people. With fair elections it won that year and maintained its power until 1930, when it was overthrown by the Uriburu revolution. Its own inefficiency and corruption contributed to its defeat. Since then the Conservative party has controlled the government. It has not allowed free elections.

* * *

Roman Church Captures Educational System

When the military government came into power last June the trend toward a closer alliance between church and state was augmented. This trend perhaps reached its climax with the reshuffle of the federal cabinet last October. Gustavo Martínez Zuviría (known under the pen name



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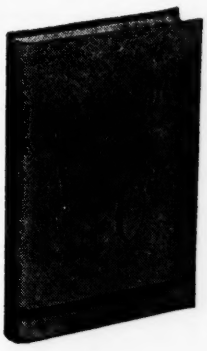

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A learned treatise on the subject of the Atonement—how to preach about it in the light of the teaching and preaching of the Apostolic Church. The book suggests a return to the New Testament interpretation of the Atonement, which reveals its three-fold meaning—a dramatic victory, a legal transaction, and an exhibition of love.

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of Hugo Wast), a pronounced Roman Catholic and a pro-fascist, was made minister of justice and education. In December he decreed the teaching of religion in public schools. The Catholic religion is to become a part of the school curricula under the direction of a committee of ecclesiastics. Parents who request that their children shall not receive this religious teaching will have provided for them classes in Christian ethics. The Protestants object to this decree, insisting that the government maintain the principle of lay education as stipulated in the constitution. It provides that religious teaching be given in a public school only when the parents of twenty children request it, and that the teaching be outside of school hours.

* * *

Protestant Schools Under Suspicion

In view of this recent decree some of the mission schools in Argentina, although private schools were not specifically mentioned, decided that if the authorities should insist on the teaching of the Catholic religion in their schools they would close rather than submit. Other mission schools, however, were inclined to less drastic measures. In February police authorities even visited some of the Evangelical churches, requested reports of their activities and in some cases requested copies of the church membership lists. However, with the resignation from the cabinet of Gustavo Martínez Zuviría at the end of February, it was thought that the tension would perhaps ease.

* * *

Protestant Students Unite Efforts

Early this year Robert C. Mackie made his second visit to the South American republics in the interest of the World Student Christian Federation. He had been there previously in 1941. Student groups were then organized in Argentina and Uruguay as a part of the Student Christian Movement. In Argentina a full-time secretary for the student group was secured in 1942 with headquarters in Buenos Aires. This secretary, Daniel Lurá Villanueva, is a lawyer in the city of Rosario. Along with his other activities, he is editor of the magazine *Cultura*, the publication of the Federation of Evangelical Youth groups in Argentina. Another indication of the growth of the Evangelical youth movement in South America was the organization late last year of the Latin American Confederation of Evangelical Youth Societies.

* * *

And So Forth

The missionary society of the Methodist Church in Argentina has recently appointed its first national missionary to serve in the republic of Bolivia. She is Miss Adelita Gattinoni, youngest daughter of Bishop and Mrs. Juan E. Gattinoni of Buenos Aires. She will be located in Cochabamba where much of the missionary work is among the Indians of the Bolivian highlands. J. Dexter Montgomery.

Clergymen Visit Latin America

Fred F. Goodsell and Theodore A. Greene, Congregationalist leaders, are touring Latin America by plane in the interest of missions. They left Miami on April 10.

Australia Aids Rehabilitation

Tests Determine Postwar Employment of Returning Soldiers—Governments Support Missions in Pacific

(Correspondence from Australia)

Melbourne, March 4.—A federal reconstruction training committee is already at work, aiding the postwar education of demobilized service personnel. The intelligence and aptitude tests which are now generally used here for the classification of men when they join the armed forces will probably cause many changes of occupation when peace comes. The tests have already shown that a great deal of potential leadership in different walks of life has been lying undiscovered among our younger citizens. Providing they have had at least six months' active service in the forces, and an honorable discharge, men and women who wish to take up a course of professional study or other training are being assisted with advice and cash. In some instances, long delayed ambitions as to life work are now about to be realized. Books will be provided free, tuition fees will be paid by the committee, and these demobilized students will also receive an allowance of about $12 per week (worth very much more here than in the United States) during the whole period of their course.

* * *

Dominion Abandons Isolationism

For some weeks our newspapers have been discussing the recently concluded pact between Australia and New Zealand. This document is at once an encouraging sign of real progress away from isolationism, and a warning symptom that much more progress in the same direction is needed. We Australians have actually made a close consultative and friendly treaty with our nearest British dominion. Surprisingly enough, this represents a remarkable step forward. But in the doing of it we have clumsily given the impression that we two countries want the whole of the Pacific for ourselves. This latter mistake shows that some of our leaders have not yet graduated as fully skilled diplomats with a world outlook. In all that the pact says or appears to say about what territories we must have, and what consultation there must be with us before such and such is done in the Pacific area, some even within Australia discern the self-assertiveness of what may be called adolescent nationhood.

* * *

Australia Signs Treaty With New Zealand

It will be useful to emphasize for American readers that this much debated pact has its good points. Cooperation and consultation between the commonwealth and the dominion have been mostly theoretical. Both countries have been insular in outlook—New Zealand a little more so than Australia. Each has tended to be suspicious of any other land that appeared to infringe on the sovereign rights of these new nations. New Zealand probably developed the sense of its national independence rather later than Australia. For some years, trade bickerings spoiled the relationship of these sister countries, only 1,200 miles apart. For example, an embargo here against New Zealand potatoes produced, in retaliation, an embargo yonder against Australian citrus fruit. But all that aloofness and semi-hostility seems to have gone, and so we welcome the pact as the beginning of a new era that we hope will be marked by neighborly common sense.

* * *

Miners Win Points In Coal Row

For months our coal production has dwindled alarmingly. Absenteeism and assorted disputes have caused the loss of many thousands of tons per day. Ordinary members of the public have reached the stage of being confused and angry at the babel of statements issued by the owners, the miners and the government. The Curtin administration has hardly helped the coal output or its own prestige by alternating strong threats against the miners (widely publicized) with doses of appeasement privately administered to the same people who were denounced and threatened a few days before. Almost all the trouble is in New South Wales mines. Just yesterday the coal production (wartime) bill was passed in the federal Parliament after being bitterly criticized by the vigorous yet numerically impotent opposition. The new measure comes very close to nationalization of the coal industry. One provision is that if additional profits are made by mines, as a result of the control by the commissioner, such extra money must be paid by the owners to a miners' welfare fund, which must be used for them.

* * *

Moyes Publishes Book on U. S.

Bishop J. S. Moyes of Armidale, N. S. W., has rendered us a great service by publishing an interesting and stimulating booklet, *American Journey*, in which he records his experiences and observations during a visit of about three months to the United States and Canada, from June to September of last year. Though technically he was "Alien No. Such-and-such," he says that no American ever made him conscious of being an alien. "The welcome, the generosity, the fellowship, the friendship were and ever will be unforgettable." Many of his impressions are well worth passing on, but I shall give only two—about your children and about the race question. Bishop Moyes thinks that American children are much more socially adjusted, much easier in manner, than Australian children of the same age. He wonders whether one possible cause is what he believes to be a fact, that there are far fewer class distinctions with you than with us. Dr. Moyes feels that a stupendous miracle has so far been accomplished in lifting the colored people from their slavery and their acceptance of slavery to the status which they occupy today. However, two things seemed apparent to this cautious observer: (1) The fear of the Negro which was noticeable among the whites in the north and west. (2) On the part of the cultured Negroes, "a great impatience, which is understandable, but not always conducive to good feeling."

Allan T. McNaughton.

Study Incidence Of Segregation

St. Louis Conference Prepares for a New York Meeting—Weekday Schools Complete Five Successful Years

(Correspondence from Eastern Missouri)

ST. LOUIS, March 31.—Bradford Abernethy, secretary of the commission on the church and minority peoples of the Federal Council of Churches, called together a regional conference here on March 30. Twenty-one representatives of communities from Kansas to Tennessee were present. This was one of a number of regional conferences being held by the commission in preparation for a general meeting in New York on April 21. On their own suggestion, no Negroes are members of the commission. One of the fundamental questions being put to the regional conferences is: "Will the problem of segregation have to be met and solved before Christian people can proceed to the solution of other problems in the race situation?"

* * *

Jones Presents Program of Race Reconciliation

The noonday Lenten services at Christ Church Cathedral sponsored by the metropolitan church federation are attracting the largest congregations in many years. E. Stanley Jones was the preacher for the first week. Kyle M. Yates of Louisville is preaching this week, and next week Julian Price Love of the Louisville Presbyterian Seminary will be the speaker. At an interracial luncheon Dr. Jones outlined steps toward a solution of the race situation: (1) Treat a man as a man. (2) Accept the findings of science which corroborate Christianity and show that the race problem is cultural, not biological, since racial inequalities are unprovable. (3) Recognize that democracy is progressing toward a solution. The moral nature of the universe, said Dr. Jones, guarantees the instability of a wrong solution and stabilizes a just settlement. The achievements of the colored peoples are helping to right the situation. The thing we should emphasize, he added, is not equality but equality of opportunity. Not until the colored races are given equality of opportunity can we claim that their condition is their own fault.

* * *

Weekday Religious Training Validated by Experience

The enrollment of the weekday schools of religious education for this semester is almost 10,000. Classes are held four days a week in 54 churches for the students of almost 100 schools. More than 900 white children attend classes in one center conducted in a church. In another center more than 800 Negroes are enrolled. This is the fifth year for these weekday schools in St. Louis. They have improved continually. They now have a teaching staff which for the most part has been teaching in these schools for over a year. Every teacher is carefully examined by the committee on personnel before being employed. In addition to meeting the academic qualifications, which must measure up to the demands of the public

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schools, the applicant must give evidence of a wholesome religious life and more than an average knowledge of the Bible. The week-day schools are reaching many boys and girls who have not been enrolled in any church school. Often these children are brought into the church.

* * *

And So Forth

Even with the coal shortage St. Louis has been able to continue its fight for smoke elimination. However, the city is aroused today by the announcement that Fred A. Schleifer, who recently became associate director of the ODT division of transport, had written to Mayor Kaufmann urging suspension of the smoke ordinance. Then he wired the mayor that unless St. Louis abandoned its smoke act, the ODT may bar shipments of eastern coal to this area. The wrath of our citizens is explained by the fact that Fred Schleifer is a veteran southern Illinois coal man, formerly the traffic manager for one of the largest coal companies, who has long sought destruction of the St. Louis smoke law.

The metropolitan church federation, under the direction of Clark Walker Cummings, is out of debt for the first time in many years. The current annual budget is $47,000.

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Catholic Press

To Confer

The 34th annual convention of the Catholic Press Association meets in Milwaukee on May 11. A number of Catholic leaders from Washington and Chicago will be present. Collaboration with Russia, federal legislation, industry and race will be discussed from the angle of the working Catholic journalist. Protestant editors are conferring on April 18-20 in Chicago. Among the topics they will discuss are the coming peace and what the church press should do for the church member. Speakers will include Roy L. Smith, Charles Clayton Morrison, Guy Emery Shipler and William F. McDermott.

Holloway Becomes Church Peace Secretary

The secretary of international relations of the Congregational Christian Council for Social Action is Vernon H. Holloway, who recently resigned from the church in North Stamford, Conn., to assume this new position.

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Area of Britain Closed to Visits

War Office Hopes It Will be the Last Coastal Ban—Churchill Supported in Plan for National Health

(Correspondence from England)

LONDON, March 21.—The outstanding news is that the Russians crossed the Dniester on the first day of spring. The most sanguine prophets had never expected this news so soon. The experts in the press are busy expounding with maps what may and what must follow. On the home side we hear today that a coastal belt from the "Wash" round the east and south coasts to Land's End will be, with some exceptions, a banned area from April 1. Smaller areas on the Firth of Forth are also to be banned. There are detailed and careful instructions added, from which can be learned the classes of people who are given permission to enter; but the government hopes that those who are so permitted will not use their privilege except in cases of real necessity. It was stated at the war office yesterday that it was essential that the ban "should be strictly enforced for the time being, but it would be removed at the earliest possible moment, and it might be hoped that it would be the last coastal ban to be imposed in our lifetime."

* * *

House of Commons Plans People's Health

Last week there were several matters of importance before the Commons. Upon one of them the government received very warm commendation from the House as a whole; their White Paper on health was heartily welcomed by the Liberals and Labor, and indeed by the critics who found some things in it to which they took exception. It seemed to open up a new prospect for the physical well-being of the nation. One member said that it was the biggest social scheme ever attempted in any country outside Russia. The leader of the Labor party in the house spoke of it as "a grand conception," and Mr. Gallacher, the Communist, said that the scheme was "the finest conception yet put forward for improving the health of the people." The chief criticism arose from the fear of the medical profession.

* * *

Condemn Lack of Central Housing Plan

If the government had a good time with health, it had a decidedly stormy reception for its dealing with housing. Here the criticism is chiefly that the government is proceeding piecemeal upon the undertaking which must be taken as a whole and admits of no delay. The lessons of the drift in the years between the wars are not forgotten. There is need of a central planning body, which will make ready the way by dealing with the problems of purchase of land, compensation and other necessary preliminary measures.

* * *

Church Must Prepare For Forces' Return

Two bishops in their diocesan letters

have called on their incumbents and parochial church councils to make plans for the return of the forces. Dr. Chavasse, bishop of Rochester, gives five suggestions in which wartime experiences both on the home-front and in the field can be used. There might be for example street or district wardens to give notice to the incumbent and to the reception committee of men and women who are returning to their homes. Army chaplains should keep in close touch with parish priests. Since many soldiers have found new reality in the services provided for them in the field, the reception committees should consider how services at home can be made more vital and hold the men when they return. Perhaps the most important suggestion is that use must be made of "Padre's Hour," in which each week the men of a unit meet the chaplain and religious questions are asked and discussed. This method has proved so valuable that it must not be allowed to fall into disuse. There should also be councils of help and advice in which the cooperation of doctors, lawyers and men and women of affairs and experience can enable a parish priest to deal with what must be "for a time a chaotic situation."

* * *

A Ship of Peace Sails the Pacific

It was 100 years ago yesterday (March 20) since the first John Williams, a vessel given by children to the London Missionary Society, was launched at Harwich. It was wrecked on Danger Island in 1864. But there has been a line of ships bearing the name of John Williams. To this hour there is one doing a restricted but necessary work among the Pacific islands. It was to link together the missions of the L.M.S. in these islands that the ship was built when Williams himself went to the South Seas. It was a happy suggestion of someone that the children of the churches should build the ship. To this day they collect for the same purpose; I remember doing this in my childhood. Indeed the ship has had a place in the heart of generations of friends of the L.M.S., and it has always kept alive in us the romance of the missionary service among those islands which were once known only to us, as we supposed, and now are everyone's concern.

EDWARD SHILLITO.

Archbishop of York Defends Bombing

In his first interview given since his arrival in this country, Cyril Forster Garbett, archbishop of York, declared that most of the English clergy believed bombing of German cities should be continued if it would hasten the war's end. He told of plans to rebuild all England's historic churches. Others, he said, will be rebuilt only if postwar community rebuilding justifies their reconstruction. He declared that there is a revival of religions going on in Russia, in which country he spent ten days last fall, and defended the British policy on Palestine as the only one possible now. The interview was given in the Waldorf Astoria hotel, New York city, on Good Friday. The archbishop went to Washington from New York and later will visit Chicago. During the interview he wore the gaiters and apron which are associated with his office.

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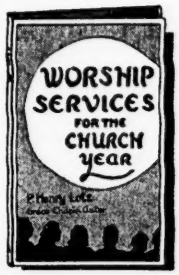

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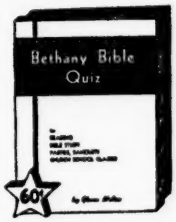

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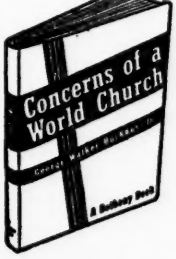

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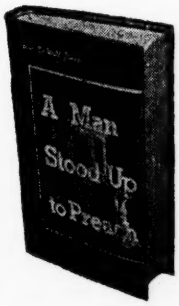

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Thurman Fosters Amity in Chicago

Holy Week Speaker Heard by Men of All Races—Hoover Says Delinquency Is Fault of American Parents

(Correspondence from Chicago)

CHICAGO, April 10.—Dean Howard Thurman, who led the Holy Week noonday services under the auspices of the church federation, made a significant impression upon the spiritual life of the city. There may be many other men—and it is to be hoped there are—who can match the distinguished dean of Howard University in combining a devout spirit with a disciplined mind, but most of those who followed him through the week of services will doubt if there is any who would excel him. At least one-third of those present were fellow Christians of the Negro race who sat with rapt attention and went away manifestly under the spell of Dr. Thurman's preaching. Dr. John Harms, secretary of the church federation, believes that these Holy Week services notably advanced interracial amity and gave a distinct lift to Protestant faith.

* * *

Brings Good News Up to Date

John Evans, religious editor of the *Chicago Tribune,* made an interesting contribution to our observation of Holy Week through a series of daily articles in the *Tribune* recounting the passion story as it might have been told by Cornelius, the centurion, in the language of today. The combining of a thorough historic appreciation of the events with a modern newspaper style produced an account which roused the attention of the general reading public and brought the familiar story with new freshness to those who knew it best. In effect, it was a pilgrimage to the scenes of the passion. Dr. Evans' telephone was kept busy by inquiries as to who Cornelius was.

* * *

Catholic Liturgists Open Office

Catholics have opened the new headquarters of their recently organized liturgical conference at 605 N. Michigan Ave. here. Furnished with comfortable early American lounge furniture, wall hangings and lamps, a large reception room makes accessible a considerable library of books and magazines on liturgy. Opening off this room are the offices of Joseph P. Morrison, national president of the conference, and W. Michael Ducey, executive secretary. The new conference, which replaces the Benedictine liturgical conference of Ferdinand, Ind., was organized last October under the patronage of Samuel A. Stritch, archbishop of the Chicago diocese.

* * *

Hoover Accuses Homes Of Near-Treason

"Our homes have seen a form of treason closely akin to giving aid and comfort to our enemies," writes J. Edgar Hoover, head of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, in a statement commending the observance of Family Week, May 7-14, in Jewish, Protestant and Catholic churches throughout the country. The statement has just been released here by Harry C. Munro, director of adult work of the International Council of Religious Education and secretary of the National Family Week Committee. "I refer," Mr. Hoover continues, "to the betrayal by parents of their trust through their failure to provide the loving guidance and devotion which are the endowment and birthright of every child. Many instances have come to my attention where mothers and fathers have actually stated they do not wish to be bothered with their children, and thousands of case histories prove that these sentiments and actions are growing more widespread." Arrests of females under 21 years of age, he declared, have increased 130.4 per cent since 1941. Among boys under 18 arrests in 1943 increased 39.8 per cent for rape, 39 per cent for robbery, 27.7 per cent for burglary, and 23.4 per cent for auto theft.

* * *

And So Forth

The midwest conference of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee meeting here last week heard plans for raising and spending $17,000,000 this year from John W. Pehle, national director.

The Chicago observance of Negro Health Week, established 35 years ago by Booker T. Washington, opened with a mass meeting in Metropolitan Community Church on April 2. A similar mass meeting in the Progressive Baptist Church on April 9 closed the week.

A memorial service was held last Sunday night in Carl Schurz high school assembly hall by Christian friends of Norway. The Chicago circuit Norwegian Lutheran chorus presented a program of sacred music. J. A. Aasgaard, president of the Norwegian Lutheran Church in America, delivered the address.

CHARLES LESLIE VENABLE.

To Hold Memorial Services For Dr. H. L. Willett

Memorial services for Dr. Herbert L. Willett, who died in Winter Park, Fla., on March 28, will be held at the Kenilworth (Ill.) Union Church at four o'clock on Friday, April 21, and at the University Church of the Disciples, 1156 East 57th St., Chicago, at three o'clock on Sunday, April 23.

Meadville Seminary Head Dies

Sidney B. Snow, president of the Meadville Theological Seminary (Unitarian), Chicago, died on April 8 in that city. Dr. Snow had resigned as president of Meadville, effective this summer, but had been prevailed upon to remain until next autumn, when the institution will observe its centenary.

War Objectors in 30 Scientific Projects

Civilian Public Service men (conscientious objectors) are participating in, or have finished, at least 30 scientific experiments, largely under the office of scientific research and development or the office of the surgeon general of the U. S. army, it is reported by the National Social Board for Religious Objectors.

Youth Crowd to Hear Gil Dodds

Madison Square Garden Overflows with 25,000 at Rally—Paul Robeson is Given Award for Aid to Unity

(Correspondence from New York)

NEW YORK, April 7.—Twenty thousand Protestant young people filled Madison Square Garden this week in a "Youth for Christ" victory rally. Police ropes held another 5,000 in the street listening to loudspeakers. No youth organizations or church federations participated directly, yet the great hall which has oftenest been the scene of communist mass meetings was filled to capacity. The moving spirits who moved so mightily were Jack Wyrtzen and his wife. The speakers included Gil Dodds, Church of the Brethren minister who is the outstanding athlete of 1944; Philip A. Benson, former president of the American Bankers' Association; Warden Fred Sacker of the New York Reformatory; and a number of army and navy officers. A choir of 2,500 girls sang. Press, radio and subway poster advertising was used for weeks before the meeting.

* * *

Racial Bias Decried In Meetings

The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties awarded Paul Robeson a citation this week in recognition of his contributions to racial and national unity. During the week the board of education and the United Parents' Association announced an institute to study problems of interracial and intercultural relations faced by teachers, parents and school administrators. This is part of a campaign to end intolerance and interracial tensions in the city and in the municipal school system. The purpose was announced as "to clarify our thinking concerning the special educational needs of the children of minority groups, to help us understand the nature of the tensions and relationships between groups in American life, and to articulate the role that education might play in helping to unify the American people." In this connection the Bureau of Intercultural Education announced that its program will include three summer workshops in colleges. They will experiment in various parts of the country to find ways of eliminating intolerance. Stewart G. Cole, the executive director, said a minimum budget of $100,000 for the year had been underwritten by foundations, civic groups and individuals.

* * *

Queens Church Keeps Ties With Service Men

Union Congregational Church of Richmond Hill, Queens, of which Aeneas J. MacKenzie is pastor, has sent a unique Easter message to its men overseas in the shape of a three-page folder containing pictures of the church's worship and social activities and a poem by the pastor, "Greetings to our 228 Men and Women in Service." This church arranges its communion services so that every boy or girl in the service has someone to take communion in his or her name. This person

also writes to the one in service and sends the church calendar regularly.

* * *

Jews Observe Passover

According to reports filed by the National Jewish Welfare Board, hundreds of thousands of Jewish troops will participate in Passover services. The board has sent out 400,000 boxes of matzoth, 7,000 gallons of sacramental wine and 190,000 *Haggadoth*, or Passover prayer books, for distribution to service men and women with the cooperation of army and navy officials. The festival will be observed by Jews throughout the world "in synagogues and temples in all countries where freedom of worship still prevails."

* * *

And So Forth

Ralph W. Sockman, pastor of Christ Methodist Church, Manhattan, has been appointed chaplain of New York University. The university has also established a board of chaplains of the different faiths to "supplement existing agencies for the spiritual interest of the students."

Frederick H. Bosch, pastor of St. Paul's Evangelical Church for 40 years, died at his home this week. He was president of the Lutheran ministerium in New York city, 1917-26, of the New York conference of the United Synod of New York, 1929-31, and of the General Council of the Lutheran Church.

Juvenile delinquency cases have increased 15.4 per cent and cases of neglected children have risen 21.8 per cent for the first three months of this year, according to figures submitted by the chidlren's court.

J. HENRY CARPENTER.

Baptist Report Denounces Missions Dissenters

A special committee on "Conference and Cooperative Unity" has just presented to the General Council of the Northern Baptist Convention a report strongly criticizing the formation by Baptist fundamentalists of an independent missionary society. The council has approved the report and ordered its circulation among the membership of the denomination prior to the 1944 meeting of the Northern Baptist Convention, which occurs at Atlantic City at the end of May.

Union Seminary to Repeat Accelerated Course

Union Theological Seminary, New York, intends to repeat the accelerated program of theological study which it presented last year. Colgate-Rochester and Hartford Seminary will collaborate in the presentation of courses which run from May 22 to August 11, with an extension to Sept. 3 for students in the navy V12 pre-chaplaincy course. The faculty will include Wilhelm Pauck, Reinhold Niebuhr, Paul J. Tillich, Justin Wroe Nixon, Rockwell H. Potter, Matthew Spinka and John C. Bennett.

Anti-Poll Tax Bill to Reach Senate Floor

Senator James Mead of New York announced that the anti-poll tax bill (HR 7) will be called up in the Senate when that body reassembles on April 17. The bill will be moved by Senator McCarran, chairman of the judiciary committee, which last November favorably reported the measure after hearings as to its constitutionality.

Indians Debate Splitting Nation

Moslem Leader Determined to Divide Country—Hindus and Liberals are Agreed Unity Must be Kept

(Correspondence from India)

TIRUVALLA, Dec. 30, 1943.—The Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Liberal Federation held meetings last week, in Karachi, Amritsar and Bombay respectively. The Indian National Congress is unable to hold its usual meeting, because its working committee and thousands of its members have been in prison since August 1942. It is now seven years since the Muslim League started its movement for *pakistan*. The league insists that provinces like Punjab, Sindh, Bengal and the North West Frontier Province, the majority of whose population are Muslim, should be constituted independent Muslim states with sovereign rights. It is not in favor of establishing in India any federal or central government to which the projected Muslim states shall be related constitutionally. Its claim is that Muslims in India are a separate nation. The Indian National Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha are stoutly opposed to this view and are prepared to do everything in their power to prevent the division of the country.

* * *

Jinnah Says Nothing Can Stop Division

In his presidential address at Karachi, Mr. Jinnah, the leader of the Muslim League, expressed himself in terms which made it clear that Muslims have set their heart on establishing independent states. He said: "We cannot depend on anyone and we do not depend on anyone. It is only by our inherent strength, by our sacrifice, that we shall achieve the goal of *pakistan*. The Hindus cannot give you *pakistan*. The utmost the Hindus can do is not to set up obstructions, so that they may get their freedom and we ours. If Hindu opposition is withdrawn there is a reasonable chance for *pakistan*. The British government can give it because they are in possession. We are now proof even against the diplomacy of the British, and they cannot prevent us from seizing *pakistan*."

* * *

Hindu Mahasabha Rejects Split

Dr. S. P. Mukerjee, president of the Hindu Mahasabha, declared in his speech at Amritsar that there can be no settlement with the Muslim League on the basis of *pakistan*. "Patriotism can never be purchased by open bids in the market place," he said. "If the Indian National Congress, as the mouthpiece of progressive Indian public opinion, was prepared to make concessions even on fundamental issues affecting national solidarity and self-respect for the sake of winning the support of the Muslim leaders, the British were always at hand to offer a higher price and thus frustrate a combination of India's two great communities. Today the Muslim League, which is recognized by the government as perhaps the only spokesman in the land for the

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Muslim viewpoint, is demanding the breaking up of India as a prerequisite to political settlement. No one knows better than the British government itself that *pakistan* is a sheer impossibility. We oppose it not merely because Hindus cannot tolerate the idea of a vivisection of their motherland, but because both economically and politically such a division will endanger the welfare of India as a whole. . . . Mr. Jinnah knows that he cannot get *pakistan* from the Hindus. He believes that the British will give it to him and then quit India. What colossal ignorance of practical politics!" Dr. Mukerjee called *pakistan* a fanatical idea. There are thousands of Hindu temples in the Muslim majority provinces, he said, which must be supported by Hindus.

* * *

Liberals Ask Unity At Beginning

The Liberal Federation is a small but influential body of public men who are moderates in politics. They stand for reasoned representations to the British and for constitutional agitation in favor of self-government. This year's meeting of the federation was led by a prominent Indian Christian, Sir Maharaj Singh, who said: "As a liberal and as an Indian Christian—and in both capacities a representative of minority interests—I have never concealed my personal predilection for a unitary government in this subcontinent. I believe that outside the Muslim League this view is shared by all minorities, such as the scheduled castes, Indian Christians, Sikhs and Parsis. We would greatly prefer that a self-governing India should at least start under one central government—even though with provinces autonomous save for a few matters such as foreign affairs and defense—and be divided only if 15 or 20 years' experience shows that partition is essential. I believe I am correct in stating that in Soviet Russia, while the right of the component nations to self-government is recognized, including the right to secede, no nation has so far parted from the central government, in spite of the many religious and linguistic differences that obtain."

* * *

Fears Division Will Create Strife

The speaker continued: "The existence of two separate Indias, each with its own army, tariffs and foreign relations, may well be conducive more to strife than to harmony, especially if, as has so often happened in Europe, the minority in one area appeals to the corresponding majority in the contiguous zone. Strangely enough, the Muslim League, while regarding statutory guarantees at the center as nugatory for the purpose of protecting Muslim minorities, stresses its desire to give the same guarantees to minorities under *pakistan*. Then too it must not be forgotten that whereas in the proposed Hindu India the Muslims will be a small minority, under *pakistan* the Hindus of Bengal and the Hindus and Sikhs of the Punjab will form large and, it may be, difficult minorities. It is one thing for us to proclaim the opinion of the majority and quite another to win acceptance for it on the part of its opponents, especially when the opposition consists of a large and influential Muslim minority claiming millions of adherents. And if it is not possible to secure voluntary acceptance, what is to be done? If, as some say, physical force is the only remedy, the prospect is truly terrifying."

* * *

Minorities a World Problem

In this connection Sir Maharaj Singh declared that in his opinion the problem of minorities was the main cause of both world wars. He cited the cases of Alsace-Lorraine, Czechoslovakia, the Balkan states, Poland and Danzig, and pointed out that the Versailles treaty and the minorities-guarantee treaties signed by many powers 25 years ago did not remove the sore spots. This complex problem is not confined to Europe, he said. It exists within the British commonwealth—for example, in South Africa and Ireland and, as recent events show, in Burma and Ceylon. The problem of minorities is a world problem, he concluded, and it will be one of the most crucial difficulties at the next peace conference.

P. Oomman Philip.

Livingstone's Map Saved

Dr. Northcott Describes Damage Done to London Missionary Society

Chicago, April 5.—Cecil Northcott, successor to Edward Shillito as literary secretary of the London Missionary Society, told the following story when in Chicago this week:

During the air blitz of London in May 1941 the building of the London Missionary Society was struck by a bomb. The most precious possession of the society, a large original map drawn by David Livingstone, had been placed in a vault in what was thought to be the safest part of the building—the basement. Unfortunately the bomb came down at an angle and struck the building at the base, completely wrecking the room in which the map was stored. When workmen assembled to clear out the rubble, they grew very much interested when they were told about the map. They declared that if it still existed it must be found.

Sift Debris for Remnants

Each shovelful of debris was sifted with care. Fortunately the map, which was

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about three by four feet in size, was drawn by Livingstone on blue paper of the sort that lawyers then used. The color helped in the recovery of bits no larger than postage stamps. When these were pieced together it was found that with the exception of a piece about four inches square the original map stood as Livingstone drew it in 1856 while he was still on the staff of the London Missionary Society. It represented a hitherto unmapped section of the middle Zambesi river area. The next year the great missionary severed his L. M. S. connection and thereafter continued as an independent explorer.

Dr. Northcott is visiting this country on invitation of the Federal Council of Churches and is working in cooperation with the religious section of the British ministry of information. During Holy Week he spoke in a number of Chicago churches and theological seminaries. His responsibilities include the direction of the extensive work of the London Missionary Society in the British Isles. He completed a series of meetings which has taken him from Boston to Richmond before coming to Chicago. From Chicago Dr. Northcott's schedule includes a series of engagements which carry him to the west coast.

H. E. F.

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Cover Girl (Col.) *Musical.* A dancer tastes theatrical fame after her face appears on a famous magazine cover, but early ties prove strongest. Some audiences may object to scantiness of costume in opening scenes; what comes after, however, is far more *spirited,* able than usual run of such "musicals," particularly in original dancing sequences. M, Y

The Curse of the Cat People (RKO) Ann Carter, Simone Simon, Kent Smith. *Drama.* How the fancies of a child who invents dream playmates lead her into danger-fraught paths until her parents learn how to meet her problem. A sequel to melodramatic *Cat People* of some months ago, treated here not as horror but as delicate fantasy. *Sensitively done.* M

The Lady and the Monster (Rep.) Richard Arlen, Eric von Stroheim. *Melodrama.* What happens when scientists fool around with a dead man's brain until it begins to guide them on nefarious ventures. *Fantastic nonsense.* M

Men on Her Mind (Producers) *Melodrama* about the orphan girl who makes good, has countless swains at her feet. Everything about it *artificial,* unlikely, wooden.

The Million Dollar Kid (Mono.) *Comedy.* The infantile-minded, ill mannered "East Side Kids" solve domestic difficulties of wealthy robbery victim they have befriended. *Praiseworthy in motive but abominable in method.*

Ukraine in Flames (Russian film, commentary in English) *Newsreels* compiled to show devastation in nazi path, resurgence of Russian armies and their return to reconquered land. Shots of battle action and aftermath are effectively edited, *realistic,* revealing. Commentary cries out for awful revenge on German "beasts." M, Y

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